DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 411 695 FL 024 795

AUTHOR Noguchi, Mary Goebel, Ed.
TITLE Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism, Volume 1 Number 1 and Volume 2 Number 1.
INSTITUTION Japan Association for Language Teaching.
PUB DATE 1996-11-00
NOTE 122p.; Currently published annually.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism; v1 n1 Oct 1995 v2 n1 Nov 1996
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingualism; Book Reviews; Case Studies; Code Switching (Language); Contrastive Linguistics; Cultural Differences; *Cultural Pluralism; Cultural Traits; English; Foreign Countries; Japanese; Language Dominance; *Language Processing; Language Research; Multicultural Education; *Multilingualism; Negative Forms (Language); North American English; Reading Instruction; Second Language Instruction; Second Languages; Writing Instruction; Writing Processes; Young Children
IDENTIFIERS Politeness; *Questions

ABSTRACT

These two journals on multilingualism and multiculturalism include the following articles: "Japanese-English Conversational Codeswitching in Balanced and Limited-Proficiency Bilinguals" (Sandra Fotos); "Teaching Reading to a Developing Bilingual Baby: A Case Study in Three Stages" (Laurel Kamada); "A Japanese-English Bilingual Child's System of Answering Negative Questions" (Nakagawa Hitomi); "Codeswitching as a Strategy in the Process of Second Language Writing: A Preliminary Investigation" (Hara Yuko); "A Study of the Initial Codeswitching Stage in the Linguistic Development of an English-Japanese Bilingual Child" (Peter John Wanner); "Double Transitions: A Case Study of an Infant Japanese/English Bilingual" (Sachiyo Fujita Round); and "Japanese Compliment Responses: A Comparison to American English Norms" (Ueda Yoko). Abstracts are presented in both English and Japanese. Book reviews are also included. (MSE)

多言語多文化研究

1巻1号
1995年10月
全国語学教育学会
バイリンガリズム研究部会

JAPAN JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1
OCTOBER 1995
JAPAN ASSOCIATION FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING
BILINGUALISM N-SIG

2

JAPAN JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1
OCTOBER 1995

A publication of the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching

CONTENTS

The N-SIG would like to express its appreciation to the following founding sponsors, without whose aid the Journal could not have been launched:

William Belew
Michael Bostwick
Eileen Christianson
Sandra S. Fotos
Peter Gray
Stephen D. Hattingh
Laurel Kamada
Steve McCarty
Mary Goebel Noguchi
Gail Okuma
Martin Pauly
David Pite
Stephen M Ryan
Simon Sanada
Craig Smith
Randall Terhune
Sharon Vaipae
Yamamoto Masayo
Kathleen Yamane
Bonnie Yoneda

Printed in Japan by Shinkodo Insatsu, 543 Nokimachi, Fukakusa, Fushimi-ku, Kyoto 612 〒612
京都市伏見区深草1 9軒町5 4 3 進晃堂印刷株式会社

From the Editor

The launching of *The Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* marks another milestone in the development of JALT (the Japan Association for Language Teaching) and its National Special Interest Group (N-SIG) on Bilingualism. The movement to focus on the issues that arise when languages and cultures come into contact was launched with the first Colloquium on Bilingualism at the 1985 JALT international conference. The Colloquium was the brainchild of Yamamoto Masayo and her husband Jim Swan, both English teachers experiencing "life with two languages" in their classrooms and at home with their two bilingual children. Feeling that JALT members could better understand the process their students were undergoing as they learned foreign languages, that they might benefit from increased awareness of the phenomenon they themselves experience as foreigners living in Japan or as Japanese teaching a foreign language, and that those who were parents of potential bilinguals could make more informed choices about their children's upbringing, for 10 years Masayo and Jim arranged for a wide range of research on bilingualism to be presented at the Colloquium.

The pair also struggled to gain formal recognition for the N-SIGs in JALT; as a result, in June 1990 Bilingualism was one of the first N-SIGs to be inaugurated. That August, as N-SIG Chair, Jim began editing the group's first newsletter, *N-SIG Nificance*. With enthusiasm for the group building, duties were gradually devolved. John Dean took over editorship of the newsletter in 1991 and saw it through its transition to its current bimonthly form and its new title, *Bilingual Japan*, in 1992. Since January 1993, Stephen Ryan has edited the newsletter, building it into a hefty publication packed with stimulating material pertaining to language and culture contact. Stephen also developed the *Bilingual Resource*, a bibliography and lending library for members, and in 1994, he compiled the N-SIG's first monographs, one in English and one in Japanese.

When the N-SIG guest-edited a special issue of the JALT monthly magazine *The Language Teacher* in May 1995, the many submissions made us realize the need for a forum to publish research beyond the scope of the newsletter. Only the generosity of the founding sponsors—listed on the inside cover—made this venture financially possible, however. And only the capable and dedicated efforts of the editorial board--Sandra Fotos, Kathleen Yamane and Stephen Ryan--made it possible to establish a thorough blind review system to ensure the quality of our feature articles. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those whose efforts have helped make this publication possible.

This inaugural issue begins with a study by Sandra Fotos on an aspect of bilingualism that is often viewed by monolinguals as problematic. Her findings offer insight into the functions of codeswitching that may help language teachers view this phenomenon with greater tolerance. Next, Laurel Kamada presents the results of a longitudinal study on teaching a developing bilingual baby to read. Then Nakagawa Hitomi examines one aspect of a bilingual child's linguistic skills: the ability to distinguish between the Japanese and English systems for answering negative questions. In his message, N-SIG Chair Steve McCarty presents the results of two studies intended to give a clearer picture of the kinds of research the N-SIG has presented to date and the topics that members are interested in. The issue then closes with reviews of two new books in the field that should prove of interest to readers. We sincerely hope this issue will not only stimulate greater interest and research in this field, but also make readers look forward to future editions of this fledgling journal.

Mary Goebel Noguchi, Editor

編集者からの挨拶

中曽根前首相が、日本は単一民族社会で、少数民族はいないと堂々発言したことが、遠い過去の出来事のように思われます。アイヌの代表が国会議員となり、琉球出身のミュージシャンが次々とヒットをとばし、在日韓国・朝鮮の人々が投票権を求め、市会議員に立候補しようとしたり、また西洋人だけでなく日系人やアジア諸国の人々の姿も国内に多く見受けられるようになり、さらに、帰国子女の受け入れや雇用の問題もかなり改善されてきた近年の社会状況の中にあって、日本人の多くは、たとえ実際に外国に行ったことがなくとも、国内で、異文化と接触する体験を持ったことがあるのではないでしょうか。

異なる言語や文化が接触する時、社会や個人がどう変わるか、いわゆる多言語・多文化研究は、移民の歴史の長い国、アメリカ、カナダ、イギリス、ドイツなどでは、しっかりと根をおろしています。しかし、これらの国々で行われる研究では比較的似た言語同士のもの — たとえば、英語とフランス語の組み合わせ — が多く、漢字などの違う文字を用いる言語との組み合わせを対象とした研究が欠けていると言えるでしょう。この意味で、日本のバイリンガルについての研究が要求されています。

また、バイリンガリズムが外国語教育の最終目標であると考えますと、我々JALTの会員にとり、バイリンガリズムの発達を促進したり阻害したりする要因や、人がバイリンガルになるのに伴い生ずる心理的過程に関する知識を持つことは、価値あるものと言えましょう。

こうした考え方に基づき、JALTのバイリンガリズム研究部会では、『多言語・多文化研究』を刊行することにしました。第1号では、この挨拶と各論文・記事の概要にのみ日本語が使用されていますが、今後、この研究雑誌がより「バイリンガル」になるよう、多くの皆さんからの日本語による投稿をお待ちしています。

このささやかな研究雑誌が、この重要な課題をめぐる日本と他国との対話に、多少なりとも貢献できれば、誠に幸いなことと思います。

編集者　野口メアリー・ゲイブル

Japanese-English Conversational Codeswitching in Balanced and Limited Proficiency Bilinguals

Sandra S. Fotos

Department of Economics, Senshu University, 2-1-1 Higashi Mita, Tama-ku, Kawasaki 214 Japan

This paper compares language alternation, or codeswitching, in two types of English-Japanese bilinguals: Balanced bilingual children and limited-proficiency bilingual Japanese university EFL learners. The type and frequency of items switched and the function performed by the switch in the discourse were examined, with the results of the two studies of very different Japanese-English bilinguals showing similar trends. In both data sets, switches were mostly grammatical regardless of the direction of the switch. Single items were most frequently switched, but both groups showed skill in switching dependent and independent clauses. Conversational codeswitching took place for the functions of emphasis, clarification, getting and holding attention, identifying particular topics, reporting speech, signalling that a repair to a previous utterance would follow, and making part of an utterance prominent and dramatic. These findings are consistent with the results of other studies of codeswitching in a variety of languages. Furthermore, even though the EFL learners were less proficient in their second language than the balanced bilingual children, they were able to switch successfully. Both the EFL learners and the children skillfully used codeswitching to make their speech salient to their interlocutors and to enrich and vitalize its quality.

<言語能力に差がある2組の日本語－英語使用者グループのコード切り換え>

この論文では、2組の日本語－英語使用者グループのコード切り換え（1つの発話の中で言語の切り換えを行うこと）を比較する。グループの一方は、日本語能力と英語能力がほぼ均等であるバイリンガルの子どもたちであり、もう一方は英語能力がそれほど高くない日本の大学のEFL（外国語としての英語学習者）である。切り換えられる項目の種類と頻度、また談話におけるその機能について調査した結果、これらの非常に異なる2組のグループの間に類似する傾向が見い出された。どちらのグループのデータについても、切り換えの方向（英語から日本語へ、あるいはその逆）にかかわらず、文法的に正しいものであった。単一の項目を単位とした切り換えが最も頻繁であったが、両グループとも、独立節および従属節を単位とした切り換えも巧みに行っていた。会話におけるコード切り換えの機能としては、強調、意味の明示化、聞き手の注意の引きつけとその維持、話題の特定化、会話の引用、発話の訂正、発話の一部の強調や印象づけなどが見い出された。本研究で見い出された結果は、他のさまざまな言語でのコード切り換えを扱った先行研究の結果とも一致するものであった。またEFL学習者は、バイリンガルの子どもたちよりも英語能力が低いにもかかわらず、切り換えを問題なく行えることもわかった。EFL学習者もバイリンガルの子どもも、聞き手に対して自己の発話を強調したり、内容を豊かに生き生きとしたものにするのに、コード切り換えを巧みに行っていた。

Introduction

It has been estimated that over half of the world's population is bi- or multilingual (Romaine, 1989), with one-third speaking English as a first or second language or learning it as a foreign language (Crystal, 1985). Furthermore, the already high frequency of urban inter-language contact caused by migration and the growing impact of English as a world language is suggested to be on the increase at an even faster rate (Kachru, 1994; Koll-Stobbe, 1994). As a result, the study of contact linguistics has become an important new field of sociolinguistic investigation (see Eastman, 1992 or Kachru, 1994). It is curious that, despite these compelling facts, the dominant paradigm in language instruction—traditionally derived from a monolingual perspective—has remained unchanged. Theories of language acquisition, language learning approaches and pedagogical methodologies continue to be built on the premise that the learner speaks only one language, hence the term "second language acquisition." However, it is clear that a flexible multilingual perspective on language use and education is more representative of the real-world situation. As linguistic diversity becomes the recognized norm, there is an increasing need for all varieties of bi/multilingual research to inform the development of new approaches to language learning and maintenance in multilingual populations.

The following paper presents research on language alternation within the same utterance, or codeswitching. Although this aspect of bilingualism has been particularly confounding to many monolinguals, the practice of mixing languages is not only common and acceptable, but is an important communication strategy in multilingual communities (see Eastman, 1992; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1992a, 1993a; Nishimura, 1992). The setting for the research reported here is Japan, a country which has traditionally—and erroneously—considered itself to be linguistically and culturally homogeneous (Maher & Yashiro, 1995[1]). As bi/multilingualism increases in Japan, it is important to develop an understanding of its various aspects, including the nature and function of codeswitching. The following report analyzes Japanese-English codeswitching in two types of bilinguals, those with equal proficiency in their two languages, and those with only limited proficiency in English. Before proceeding with the discussion of the study, however, it is felt useful to present a review of research

on the nature of bilingualism, its effects on cognitive development, and the current understanding of the nature and function of codeswitching.

What is a Bilingual?

Researchers have proposed various definitions of the term "bilingualism" (see, for example, Baker, 1988; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Grosjean, 1982; Hakuta, 1986; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Romaine, 1989), but one of the simplest and most inclusive is given by Valdes and Figueroa (1994, p. 7). Bilingualism is the condition of knowing two languages rather than one. This definition is often thought to imply equivalently high levels of proficiency in both languages. However, such "balanced bilinguals" or "ambilinguals" are actually quite rare (Tickoo, 1993). Most bilinguals tend to be more proficient in one language than the other. Thus, researchers have come to accept that a person may be called bilingual even with very limited proficiency in the second language (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994).

It is also recognized that bilingualism is not a unitary construct. It varies between individuals and even within individuals depending on the requirements of a particular situation, the language preference and the individual's perceived linguistic strength (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994). This fact has not been appreciated until quite recently and, as one researcher notes, "many misconceptions about bilingualism have arisen because of failure to calculate the complexity of the bilingual phenomena" (Stefanakis, 1991, p. 139).

A number of typologies and classification systems for bilinguals have been proposed based on differences in the nature of the bilingual experience, particularly the age at which the second language is acquired and the reason for becoming bilingual. For a summary of research on this topic, the reader is referred to Valdes & Figueroa (1994).

The Effects of Bilingualism on Cognitive Development: The Historical View

From the early 19th century up to the mid 1950s, the common belief was that bilingualism had a harmful effect on intellectual development. Writing in 1890, one Cambridge scholar summed up the prevailing view of a bilingual person:

> Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself. Intelligence and spiritual growth would not . . . be doubled but be halved . (Laurie, 1890, p. 15).

In the 1950s, an American psychologist wondered whether "speech facility in two languages is worth the consequent retardation..." (cited in Hakuta, 1986, p. 14).

These are strange remarks when we consider that the European aristocracy was traditionally multilingual and that the ability to read Greek and Latin and to chat in "cultured" languages was part of the curriculum of elite education systems for hundreds of years. However, the bilinguals referred to in the quotations above were not Anglo, but rather non-English speaking immigrants, particularly those attempting to enter England and the United States at the turn of the century. In contrast, language majority bilinguals (speakers of English as a first language) were not considered to be particularly disadvantaged (Cummins & Swain, 1986). To be fair, it should be noted that the early research tended to support a negative view of bilingualism. However, this was the same type of research that suggested that people's cranial capacity, body build or head shape determined their intelligence, and deficiencies in sampling, testing, experimental design and data analysis have invalidated such early findings (Baker, 1988; Gould, 1981[2]).

From the middle 1950s, research on bilingualism entered a period characterized by more careful investigative procedures. Using improved methodology and controlling for socioeconomic variables such as class, education and income, it was found that monolinguals and bilinguals did not differ significantly in intelligence (Baker, 1988). Consequently, bilingualism was no longer thought to have a detrimental effect on cognitive development.

In the mid 1960s, another major shift in view occurred. Studies comparing French-English bilinguals with monolinguals showed very positive results (for example, see Peal & Lambert, 1962). Such studies suggested that the bilinguals had greater mental flexibility than monolinguals, were able to think more abstractly and were therefore superior to monolinguals in concept formation. Furthermore, the bilingual environment was suggested to be more enriched, giving bilingual children extra stimulation and enhancing their IQ development. Finally, a positive transfer effect was suggested to occur between the two languages, this also benefiting cognitive development. However, it should be noted this research has been criticized as being overly optimistic (see Baker, 1988), and later findings are more cautious in their claims.

Recent Perspectives on Bilingualism and Cognition

The current view of the cognitive abilities of bilinguals as compared to monolinguals is presented in research reviews by Ambert (1991), Baker (1988), Cummins & Swain (1986), and more recently by Valdes & Figueroa (1994). The latter authors note that there has always been the assumption that bilinguals differ from monolinguals, whether positively or negatively. Summarizing current research, they report that differences have been found in three main areas: (1) In cognitive development; (2) in the nature of brain hemisphere involvement in the learning and processing of first (L1) and second (L2) languages; and (3) in the nature of information processing. However, studies to date are inconclusive and the exact nature of these difference has not yet been elucidated.

One of the most comprehensive explanations for the relationship between bilingualism and cognition has been presented by Cummins (1984) in his discussion of bilingual education and academic achievement. He holds that there may be both positive and negative consequences from being bilingual, and that the dominant effect will depend on the individual's level of proficiency in the two languages. Called the Thresholds Theory, Cummins' argument proposes that the bilingual's level of competence in the L2 is the critical variable in determining whether bilingualism is negative, neutral or additive in terms cognitive skills. A balanced bilingual is suggested to have a cognitive advantage over monolinguals, whereas a bilingual with limited proficiency in the L2 may not differ from monolinguals or may be disadvantaged if the L1 is also not well developed.

There is a large body of research on bilingual education, particularly in Canada and the U.S., but this is not the focus of the present report[3]. Here, only one aspect of bilingualism will be considered, and that is codeswitching, or the use of more than one language in a single utterance.

Research on Codeswitching

Codeswitching has attracted considerable attention over the years because it "violates a strong expectation that only one language should be used at any given time" (Heller, 1988, p.1). During the 1950s, when research first began, it was assumed that codeswitching was random and was the sign of someone who couldn't talk fluently in either language--the so-called "semilingual."[4] Switching was regarded as abnormal and bad in nearly every society in which it occurred, probably because of underlying ideologies of linguistic purity (Milroy, & Milroy, 1985). However, 35 years of research has shown that codeswitching is systematic and rule-governed, and serves important sociolinguistic functions. Today, codeswitching is recognized to be a legitimate form of communication for people who live in multilingual communities and is investigated as an important urban contact phenomenon.[5]

Two main lines of research on codeswitching have developed. The first is linguistic research on the syntactic nature of the switch. Such research examines the part of speech which is switched, usually in relation to the speaker's linguistic proficiency, and also investigates the type of constraints on switching which function to maintain grammaticality during the switch. The general conclusion is that codeswitching is almost always grammatical (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) and, therefore, its nature is determined by the individual's fluency in the two languages. Less-proficient bilinguals tend to switch single items, such as nouns or idioms, because such switches are structurally less integrated into the discourse and do not require much proficiency (McClure, 1977; Poplack, 1980). On the other hand, proficient bilinguals are able to switch grammatically at the sentence level or even within a sentence. In general, though, it has been found that nouns and other single-item switches tend to be the most common, regardless of the languages used or the proficiency of the speakers (Meisel, 1994).

In contrast to the historical view of codeswitching as ungrammatical and haphazard, switching is now acknowledged to be so grammatical that it has become an important research tool for investigating rules of syntax, i.e., pronoun placement in different languages (Jake, 1994). Codeswitching is also used to study principles of Universal Grammar[6] particularly grammatical constraints (see Belazi, Rubin & Torivio, 1994 or Meisel, 1994). Several specific constraints on switching have been found (summarized in Belazi, Rubin & Torivio, 1994 and also in Myers-Scotton, 1993b). One is the free morpheme constraint, which states that a switch cannot occur between a lexical item and a bound morpheme like *-ing* or the past tense *-ed*. A second is the equivalency constraint, which states that there should be the same type of word order around the switch in both languages. Although these constraints were found to hold in switches of syntactically similar languages such as Spanish and English (Poplack 1980; 1981), studies of syntactically dissimilar language switching show that these and other local constraints are not always observed (Myers-Scotton, 1992b, 1993b[7]). However, switching always remains with in the framework of Government and Binding, constrained by the operation of Universal Grammar (Belazi, Rubin & Toribio, 1994).

The second line of research on codeswitching studies the sociolinguistic function performed by the switch. At the group level, such research investigates switching for the establishment and maintenance of social relationships. This is called *situational codeswitching* (Dabne & Billiez, 1986; McClure & McClure, 1988, Myers-Scotton, 1992a, 1993a) and it is often analyzed through Speech Accommodation Theory (see Genesee & Bourhis, 1982). Situational switching depends on the

setting and the roles and relationships of the people involved.[8] In some contexts, switching is normal and expected, and a phrase from linguistics is used to describe it: Switching is *unmarked*. In other contexts switching is unusual and unexpected, so it is *marked* (Myers-Scotton, 1992). In this case, the switch is deliberately used to send messages about social membership, status and power.

The second type of sociolinguistic codeswitching is the focus of this paper: codeswitching at the individual level or *conversational codeswitching*. Here, researchers study how people use switching as a personal communication strategy to organize and enrich their discourse. In a conversation, codeswitching can perform a number of discourse-enhancing functions for the speaker.[9] For example, a language switch can be used to indicate a particular topic. Bilinguals often tend to discuss certain topics only in one language and not in the other. They may also switch languages to signal that the topic has changed. Switching can be used to call attention to and dramatize key words during the course of a conversation (Auer, 1988; McClure, 1981; Valdes, 1976) and it can also be used to emphasize a statement by repeating important items in the other language. Bilinguals can use codeswitching for clarification by switching and elaborating on a confusing statement in the second language. Switches can also be used to set off reported speech, while codeswitched discourse markers can be used to attract and hold attention during speech in the other language.

Regarding this last function, it is interesting to note that even within monolingual speech, events or stories are often set off or "framed" (Goffman, 1986) by the use of short utterances such as 'well' or 'so' placed at frame boundaries (Gumperz, 1982; Tannen, 1984). In bilingual speech, the discourse markers which distinguish frames are usually codeswitched (Koike, 1987; Nishimura, 1995). It is even possible to emphasize the difference between personal feelings and objective issues within the same conversation or frame by discussing feelings in one language and factual or objective events in the other.

A number of interesting studies exist in this area, particularly on narratives. Such research shows how switching can increase the dramatic effect of a story by focusing and holding the audience's attention and moving the action along.[10]

Research Questions

At present there are only a few studies of Japanese-English codeswitching (Azuma, 1987; Fotos, 1990; 1994a; Loschky, 1989; Nishimura, 1992; 1995), and several of these have been of *Nisei*, second generation Japanese-Americans (Azuma, 1987) or Japanese-Canadians (Nishimura, 1992; 1995). The findings have been similar to those previously discussed for switching in other languages: grammaticality is maintained and switching serves a number of sociolinguistic functions.[11]

A few years ago, the author conducted a limited study of codeswitching in four bilingual children determined to have high levels of proficiency in both English and Japanese. The study examined the direction of the switch, what part of speech was switched and what function the switching served in the conversation. It was found that the balanced bilingual children maintained grammaticality regardless of the nature or direction of the switch, and used switching for the common discourse functions identified in previous studies of conversational codeswitching.

Recently the author completed the data analysis for a second study of conversational codeswitching. Here the subjects were limited-proficiency bilingual Japanese university EFL learners who were audio-recorded as they performed communicative tasks in English class. This report presents the findings from a preliminary analysis of the EFL learners' switching and compares the two data sets, seeking to demonstrate that, regardless of the proficiency level of the speaker, Japanese-English switching is grammatical and serves useful discourse management functions in the conversation. The following three research questions are addressed:

1. What items were most frequently switched by the limited-proficiency bilingual EFL learners and was the switching generally grammatical?
2. What functions did the switches serve in the conversations of the EFL learners?
3. Were there significant differences in the switching patterns between the limited-proficiency EFL learners and the balanced bilingual children reported on previously (Fotos, 1990)?

Methods

Balanced Bilingual Children

The subjects of the first study were two bilingual American older sister/younger brother sibling sets attending an international school in Tokyo. At the time of the study, the two sisters were 11 and the two brothers were seven. The children's performance on standardized English tests administered by the international school as well as their placement in the highest level of tracked Japanese language classes for native speakers in the school established that they were balanced bilinguals. The following is a brief description of the data collection and analysis (for further details, see Fotos, 1990).

Data was obtained on two occasions by leaving a tape recorder running in the rooms where the

children were playing. Codeswitching was considered to occur whenever there was a language change, whether by the same speaker or by another. From four hours of audiotape, only 40 minutes of data was transcribed and analyzed: three narratives and one conversation for each age set. Transcription of the data was in standard English orthography, with glosses of Japanese utterances following the procedures of Cziko & Koda (1986). For quantitative analysis, switches were coded into syntactic categories (i.e., noun, verb, dependent clause, etc.) following the categories used by Poplack (1980). Counts of switches in each of the categories were converted to percentages for tabular display. For the present report, the data displayed in Table 2 has been condensed and reformatted from the original table (Fotos, 1990).

One-way chi-square tests adjusted for continuity (Hatch & Farhady, 1982) were used to determine the significance of differences in frequencies between the type of items switched and between the number of switches from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English. The alpha level was set at .05, $p < .05$.

To determine what function the switch performed in the conversation, the categories proposed in the research literature (switching to clarify meaning, to get and hold attention, to change or focus on the topic of discussion, to use special items culturally linked to one of the languages, to indicate reported speech, and to personalize or objectivize events) were used to examine representative switches. However, no attempt was made to code all of the switches into the functional categories because of the unavailability of an inter-rater to establish the reliability of the coding procedure. Coding ambiguities existed, since assignment into one category rather than another depended on the often arbitrary judgment of the researcher. For instance, some switches appeared to serve several functions at the same time (i.e., Example 20 in this report), whereas it was not clear what, function, if any, other switches performed. Nishimura (1995) experienced similar difficulty assigning switches to functional categories in her studies of codeswitching in Japanese-Canadian *nisei*.

In a study of negotiation interaction from which this data is a subset (Fotos, 1994b), the present researcher obtained reliability estimates for coded negotiation data by having a second researcher independently code the interactions into the various negotiation categories. The percent of agreement between the two codings was 89% and this figure was reported as an indicator of inter-rater reliability. In future studies of codeswitching, it is hoped that similar procedures can be used to support the reliability of qualitative analysis.

Limited-Proficiency Japanese EFL Learners

The subjects of the second study were 53 first-year Japanese university EFL learners, most of whom were male. The learners had one required 90-minute period per week of oral English with a native-speaker instructor who, in this case, was also the researcher. The learners' English language proficiency level was established by administering a cloze test previously determined to be reliable and valid (Fotos, 1991). Whereas, under exact-word scoring procedures, five native English speakers scored an average of 37 points on the 50-point cloze test, the Japanese EFL learners' average score was only 9.3 points. This low score indicates that the learners were not balanced Japanese-English bilinguals, but had only limited proficiency in English.

The learners were divided into groups of from three to four during performance of three interactive grammar problem-solving tasks at three-week intervals. The first task was on adverb placement, and took an average of eight minutes to perform. The second task was on indirect object placement, and took 23 minutes. The final task was on relative clause usage and took an average of nine minutes to perform. Two of the tasks (2 &3) were information gap tasks, requiring each learner to read to other members of his group task card sentences showing correct and incorrect usages of the target grammar structure. The listeners had to decide which sentences were correct, and then write the correct sentences on their own task sheets. In addition, two tasks (1 & 3) required the learners to generate their own grammar rules to explain the correct use of the target grammar structure. Detailed information on the design and use of these tasks is reported elsewhere (Fotos, 1993, 1994b).

All task performances were audiotaped and this constituted the data corpus. A total of six and a half hours of audiotape consisted of the learners' utterances as they read task card information to their group members, discussed grammar rules and agreed upon solutions to the grammar problems. A balanced bilingual Japanese research assistant transcribed the tapes in full, writing out the Japanese utterances in *romaji* (Roman letters). The transcripts were then analyzed by the author. In this study, codeswitching was defined as a language switch within the same utterance by the same speaker. The many cases where a learner read an English task card sentence to group members, who then responded with Japanese comments, were not considered to be conversational codeswitching.

For quantitative analysis, switches were coded into the same syntactic categories used in the first study. One-way chi-square tests were used to determine the significance of differences in frequencies between the type of items switched, and between the number of switches from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English. Again, the alpha level was set at .05, $p < .05$.

To determine what function the switch performed in the conversation, the functional categories from the first study were used to examine representative switches. However, once again, no attempt was made to code all switches into the various functional categories because of the unavailability of an inter-rater to establish the reliability of the coding procedure.

This report addresses the type and frequency of the limited-proficiency EFL learners' codeswitching compared to the balanced bilinguals, and examines how both types of bilinguals used switching to organize their discourse.

Results and Discussion

Switching in Limited-Proficiency Bilingual University EFL Learners

As shown in Table 1, the limited-proficiency bilingual learners made a total of 359 switches, a rate of only one switch per minute. This is rather low considering that French-English adult bilinguals in Canada made 10 switches per minute (Poplack, 1988), and the bilingual children made four switches per minute. The difference in rates is probably due to the relative differences in proficiency in the L2 among the three groups of bilinguals.

Table 1: Type and Frequency of Items Switched (EFL Learners)

	Switches into Japanese	Switches into English	Total Switches
Total	207*	152	359
Single-Item	153 * (74%)	123 (81%)	276 (76% of total)
Nouns** etc.	21* (14%)	109 (88%)	130 (36% of total)
Verbs	41* (27%)	3 (2%)	44 (12% of total)
Other***	91* (59%)	11 (9%)	102 (28% of total)
Multi-Word Item	54 * (26%)	29 (19%)	83 (23% of total)
Dep. Cls.	9	3	12 (3% of total)
Indp. Cls.	3	2	5 (1% of total)
Sentence	31	17	48 (13% of total)
Phrases as Asides	11*	0	11 (3% of total)
Paraphrase of task info	0	7*	7 (2% of total)

* Differences between Japanese and English switches were significant at $p < .05$, using one-way chi-square tests corrected for continuity

** For English switches, this category refers to all single words from the tasks, including nouns and other parts of speech such as adverbs, relative pronouns or prepositions. Also included is the word "correct"

*** Switches in this category included adjectives, adverbs, fillers and tags. Japanese switches consisted of *wa/ga* topic markers, the possessive *no*, conjunctions such as *dakara* (so, then), attention-getters preceding English task sentences, such as *de* (well), *ja* (well), or *ikuyo* (here I go), various exclamations and interjections such as *nanda!* (what!), *yoshi!* (well), and pronouns such as *kore* (this) and *dotchi* (which). Furthermore, a special class of negation item such as *janakute* or *janai ya* (that's not it!) said in or immediately following an English utterance served as a signal that repair of the previous utterance was about to take place. Switches into English included exclamations such as "wow", interjections such as "oh, great" and fillers such as "well", "uh" or "hm"

Using one-way chi-square procedures as a test of the significance of differences in frequency counts, significantly more total items were switched from English into Japanese (207 switches) than from Japanese into English (152 switches). For both single-item switches and longer switches, significantly more switches into Japanese were made. These results suggest that the learners were speaking mainly English—a likely occurrence since they had been instructed to use only English during task performance. However, in this preliminary report, no morpheme count was undertaken to determine whether English was, in fact, the matrix or dominant language.[12]

Single-item switches were by far the greatest, comprising 74% of the total number of switches; this result is in line with other codeswitching studies. However, only 40% of the single-item Japanese switches consisted of nouns and verbs, compared with 91% of the single-item English switches.[13]

Whereas non-noun or verb switches in the category "Other" made up only 9% of the switches into English, they constituted fully 60% of the single-item switches into Japanese. These switches tended to be insertions of Japanese discourse managers, such as *ne* (so, well), *dakara* (then, so), and *ja* (well), fillers, tags, possessives, and various exclamations and interjections, which were used to frame, emphasize or correct important English grammar-content utterances. This is interesting, because it suggests that the learners may have been using the discourse functions of switching as a type of strategy to deal with the difficult English language grammatical information.

Regarding grammatical constraints on switching, the free morpheme constraint and the equivalency constraint were sometimes compromised; this point will be discussed more fully in a subsequent section. The equivalency constraint was upheld when the switches were from English into Japanese —the majority of switches—because of the final position of the Japanese verb. However, in the three cases where the switch was in the other direction, with the English portion of the switch coming last, verbs were omitted and the utterances thus became ungrammatical.

Switching in Balanced Bilingual Children

As shown in Table 2, a total of 153 switches was made, with no significant difference between the total number of switches from Japanese to English (81 switches) and from English to Japanese (72 switches). Language alternation was more balanced, suggesting that, for the children, switching was the normal, unmarked choice in their conversation. This contrasts with the other data set, where significantly more switches were made from English into Japanese.

Table 2: Type and Frequency of Items Switched (Bilingual Children)

	Switches into Japanese	Switches into English	Total Switches
Total	72	81	153
Single-Item	**54 (75%)**	**52 (64%)**	**106 (69% of total)**
Nouns	14 (19%)	11 (14%)	25 (16% of total)
Verbs	6 (8%)	3 (4%)	9 (6% of total)
Other*	34 (48%)	38 (46%)	72 (47% of total)
Multi-Word Item	**18 (25%)****	**29 (36%)**	**47 (31% of total)**
Dep. Cls	1	7	8 (5% of total)
Indp. Cls	4	2	6 (4% of total)
Sentence	9	15	24 (16% of total)
Subject + topic marker	1	0	1 (.06% of total)
Backchannel agree	3	5	8 (5% of total)

This table was adapted from Fotos 1990. The original table displayed the switches by language according to whether they were intrasentential or intersentential. Single-item switches were presented separately according to their location.

* Similar to Table 1, switches into Japanese in this category included adjectives, adverbs, fillers, tags, *wa/ga* topic markers, the possessive *no*, conjunctions such as *dakara* (so, then), attention-getters preceding English discourse, such as *ano* (uh, well), *ja* (well), or *ne* (then, well), various exclamations and interjections such as *nanda!* (what!), *yoshi!* (well), and pronouns such as *kore* (this) and *dotchi* (which). Switches into English included similar utterances in English.

** Differences between Japanese and English switches were significant at $p < .05$ using one way chi square tests corrected for continuity.

Nonetheless, the overall switching pattern of the two groups was quite similar. 16% of the children's total switches was of entire sentences, compared with 13% for the learners. Furthermore, a significant number of single-item switches were made, 69% of the total for the bilingual children, compared with 74% for the EFL learners. These two types of switches (single-items and sentences) accounted for 85% of the total switches of the bilingual children and 87% of the EFL learners' total switches.

In addition, the children switched more single items in the category "Other" in both directions than in the categories of nouns or verbs combined. 63% of the Japanese single-item switches and

73% of the English single-item switches were in this category. As in the case of the EFL learners, the category "Other" for switches into Japanese included adjectives, adverbs, topic markers and various discourse managers such as tags, fillers, attention getters preceding sentences such as such as *ne*, (so, well) or *dakara* (then, so), exclamations such as *honto* (really!) and interjections. Switches into English consisted of similar items. However, the bilingual children's switching was more balanced, with 48% of all single-item switches made into Japanese and 46% of switches made into English. This is in contrast to the learners, who overwhelmingly switched such non-noun/verb single items into Japanese.

Significant differences between switching direction were also found for multi-word item switches, with the children making more switches into English, especially sentences. In contrast, the EFL learners switched significantly more multi-word items into Japanese, particularly phrases expressing personal feelings or noting that the preceding English utterance was incorrect and would be revised.

The differences between frequency counts for the balanced bilingual children and the EFL learners in the two cases of Japanese single-item and multi-item switches are suggested to be related to learning strategies employed by the EFL learners rather than an indication of their more limited L2 proficiency. Such switches will be discussed in more detail in the section on functional analysis.

Regarding the grammatical constraints, violations of both the free morpheme constraint and the equivalency constraint existed in this data set, as well, and examples will be discussed in the following section.

In summary, it might be supposed that the bilingual children, young as they were, would nonetheless exhibit the greater ability to carry out codeswitching. Yet, the data does not suggest that this was so. In fact, although the bilingual children's switches were more balanced in terms of language choice, the overall switching patterns were similar, even though the learners had lower levels of spoken English proficiency.

Grammatical Constraints on Codeswitching

The following consideration of constraints and switches in the different functional categories will treat both data sets combined. Examples of switches made by the children are marked with an asterisk, while English translations of the Japanese parts of each switch are given on the right side of the page.

The Free Morpheme Constraint

Examples 1 and 2 are among the many cases in both sets of data where the free morpheme constraint was not upheld. Very often, Japanese subject-bound topic markers *wa* and *ga* were attached to English nouns in otherwise grammatical English sentences. Example 1 illustrates this.

1. correct *wa* / is "secretary reported problem"

Here the EFL learners were discussing which task-card sentences were correct–information which was essential for task completion. The use of *wa* seems to emphasize the important preceding English task term "correct." It is suggested that the use of *wa* or *ga* in English utterances is a discourse strategy for attracting and focusing the listener's attention on the preceding information.

Example 2 is taken from the children's data (Fotos, 1990). Here there was a tendency for the children to attach English morphemes to Japanese nouns, making them plural or possessive, for example, *hebi*-s (snake-s) There were also cases where English verb suffixes were attached to Japanese verb bases, as shown below.

*2 and then she got *yukai*-ed kidnap

In determining what motivated the switch, it should be recalled that these were American children who knew the English word "kidnap." Thus, the switch was not made because of a lexical gap in the matrix language. When the verb was switched into the other language, the switch functioned to emphasize and dramatize the action.

The Equivalency Constraint

The next three examples show how both the learners and the bilingual children were able to maintain grammaticality while switching within the sentence. The children usually negotiated the syntactical difference in the normal sentence structure of the two languages--SOV in Japanese, and SVO in English--by switching independent clauses, as shown in Example 3, where one of the girls told the other how to meditate.

*3. you put your hands like this
me o tojitel and sit there — close (your) eyes

Example 4, from the data for the EFL learners, shows the tendency for this group to solve the grammar problem by ending the utterance in Japanese, thus maintaining verb-final syntax. In talking about where indirect objects can be placed in English sentences, one learner said:

4. after verb and front/ *ni mo aru ka* — in (front) too, I think

Example 5 shows what happened when the language order was reversed (with English used to end the sentence). The learners were talking about which task-card sentences were correct.

5. *kore* both correct — this

In this type of switch, the verb was omitted and thus the sentence was ungrammatical. However, there were only three such utterances in the learners' data.

Discourse Functions of Conversational Codeswitchin.

This section addresses the use of codeswitching as a device for discourse management. The following conversational functions will be considered and illustrated by examples from the two data sets: switching to indicate topics; switching for emphasis and clarification; switching to frame and to attract and hold attention; switching to express personal feelings within objective utterances; switching to report the speech of others; and switching to set off or dramatize part of the utterance. An additional function was common in the data from the learners but did not appear in the children's data: switching to signal that a mistake had been made in the previous English utterance and that a repair would follow.

Switching to Indicate Topics

In the learner data set, switching occurred when task-related terms came up. These were always said in English, as shown in Example 6.

6. task recording *haitteru* ? — is (it) being recorded?

The bilingual children also had language choices for different topics and these often appeared to be culturally-linked. Because they attended an international school, where instruction was in English, school-related terms were usually discussed in English. Japanese-language computer-game terms or references to Japanese money, on the other hand, were given in Japanese as shown in Example 7.

*7. this bracelet was for *san byaku en* — three hundred yen

Switching for Emphasis

Both groups frequently used codeswitching for emphasis. This usually took the form of a switched repetition of the important utterance, as seen in Example 8 by the EFL learners, where important English task information was repeated in Japanese

8. place adverbs between noun and noun
meishi to meishi no aida — between noun and noun

Example 9 shows a switched repetition made by the bilingual boys discussing a character in a computer game.

*9. the hammer was in the hand like this
kou iu tuu ni — like this

Switching for Clarification

The next discourse function, clarification, may or may not involve repetition, but it always includes elaboration, with the phrase after the switch containing more information than the original utterance. This is shown in Examples 10 and 11 by the EFL learners.

10. my English ability is very short/ I don't say well
iitai koto ga ienai — (I) can't say what (I) want to say

This switch does not use a repetition but the elaboration of the English thought is clear. The next example is interesting because the elaboration is in English. There is a repetition with additional information also given.

11. *nagai* / very long sentence — long

Example 12 is one of the best illustrations of clarification by elaboration in either data corpus. The balanced bilingual girls were talking about a friend who bought imitation Reebok shoes. The initial codeswitched elaboration was itself elaborated by a repetition including the addition of an adverb and a change in the Japanese verb ending.

*12. they were really fake/ but they were exactly like Reeboks.
honmono mitai — (they) look like the real thing
zettai ni honmono ni mite iru — (they) absolutely look like the real thing

Switching to Frame Discourse

The next function is switching to attract and hold the listener's attention. In narratives, this type of switch frames the discourse, occurring at boundaries as an intensifying strategy to emphasize the utterance, hold the listener's attention and move the action forward (Koike, 1987). In both data sets, the body of the discourse tended to be in English, framed by short Japanese switches. Usually the switch was the Japanese coordinating conjunction *dakara* (so, then) or the words *ja* or *ne*, which are similar to the English "well" or "then." Studies of monolingual Japanese speakers (Maynard, 1989, as cited in Nishimura, 1995) report that "*ne*" as a sentence-final particle is used more frequently than any other particle and tends to be a request for agreement or confirmation. Nishimura (1995) noted this type of use for *ne* in her study of Japanese-Canadian codeswitching. However, in the codeswitching data for the present study, *ne* and similar particles usually occurred at the beginning of utterances, as shown by Examples 13.

13. *ja*/ I read number three sentence — well

The tag *dayo* (it is) was more frequently used at the end of utterances to provide emphasis at the end of the thought, as shown by Example 14, where the bilingual girls were talking about a movie.

*14. I saw MoonWalker
MoonWalker was so weird/ *dayo* — it is

Switching to Separate Feelings from Facts

A very interesting discourse function for codeswitching is contrasting personalization and objectification. As mentioned above, this refers to the tendency to talk about personal feelings in one language and factual, objective events in the other. There were examples of this in both sets of data. However, where the EFL learners nearly always talked about their feelings in Japanese and used English for factual, task-related utterances, the children showed the opposite tendency, using English to express their feelings and Japanese for factual information. Example 15 is by one of the learners while Example 16 is by one of the children.

15. possible place of adverbs is
nanda/ wakkaranai — what! I don't know

Here the switch sets the speaker's feelings apart from the grammatical information.

In Example 16, one of the bilingual girls told the other that she wanted a bracelet and bought it. Her feelings were given in English, whereas the objective fact of making the purchase and the preceding coordinating conjunctions, serving to frame the action, were switched to Japanese.

*16. I wanted it
soshite/ soshitara/ katta — and, and so, (I) bought (it)

Switching to Signal Repair

The next discourse function for codeswitching appeared mainly in the learner data, and was probably a result of the demands of the situation: English language task performance by Japanese speakers. Here the switch indicated that the previous utterance was incorrect and that a repair would follow. The signal was usually some version of a Japanese negation with the general meaning of

"that's not it," as shown in Example 17, where the speaker even uses an elaboration in the repair signal.

17. she looked/ oh / I mistake / look *janaku te* — it is not so
cooked/ she cooked a delicious dinner

Switching to Report Speech

This common function for codeswitching was found mainly in the children's data, probably because of their more informal conversational situation and longer interaction period. In Example 18 the boys discussed another boy.

18. and then he said,
"*doshita no?*" — What is the matter?

Switching to Emphasize or Dramatize a Single Item

The final discourse function to be considered is the use of a switch to focus on a particular word within the utterance. Its occurrence was mainly limited to the children's data. This function is particularly ambiguous. Many researchers who encounter such forms assume that the switch is caused either by the fact that the speaker does not know the lexical item in one language and has to switch to the other, or by the fact that the item represents an object or concept which is new to the matrix language culture or is somehow culturally unique. Thus, the explanation advanced for the switch is the presence of some type of lexical gap (Myers-Scotton, 1992). However, in the following example, one of the balanced bilingual boys deliberately used the English word "boring" to make the fact of boredom prominent. Here there was no possibility that the switch was due to a gap in the child's Japanese lexical knowledge, to the lack of an equivalent concept in the Japanese culture, or to the culturally specific nature of the item.

*19. *mou asobanai hou ga ii* — maybe (we) shouldn't play anymore
boring *dakara* — because it is (boring)

In the final example, one of the boys talked about his bad day at school, a topic usually discussed in English. The first utterance was emphasized by a switch, yet the key school-related items were maintained in English, perhaps because they were topic linked. The result is a dramatic emphasis of the original utterance.

*20. my day was awful
boku no day *wa* awful *datta no ne* — my day was awful

To assume that such switches are motivated by lexical inadequacy or the presence of a cultural gap is to lose sight of the dramatizing function switching can perform within a conversation, even for a seven-year old.

In summary, a variety of functional switches characterized the speech of both types of bilinguals. Because the frequency of switches in each functional category was not established, it cannot be determined whether the low occurrence of switches for repair in the children's data and switches for reported speech and dramatization in the learners' data were statistically significant. However, even if the differences were significant, it is possible that they may have been more related to the nature of the activity taking place at the time of data collection than to the level of the speaker's L2 proficiency. Accuracy in use of the L2 during task performance was a great concern for the EFL learners, so they were careful to repair faulty utterances, whereas this was not important in the children's play situation. Similarly, the learners were not involved in chatting informally with each other over a period of several hours, a situation where reporting the speech of others and dramatization of narratives would be likely to occur as discourse strategies.

Conclusions

The results of the two studies of very different Japanese-English bilinguals show similar trends. In both data sets, switches were mostly grammatical regardless of the direction in which the switches were made. Single items were most frequently switched, but both groups showed skill in switching dependent and independent clauses. Conversational codeswitching took place for the functions of emphasis, clarification, getting and holding attention, identifying particular topics, reporting speech, signaling that a repair to a previous utterance would follow, and making part of an utterance prominent and dramatic. These findings are consistent with the results of other studies of codeswitching in a variety of languages. Furthermore, even though the EFL learners were less proficient in their second

language than the bilingual children, they were still able to switch successfully.

The examples presented in this report illustrate that, regardless of the proficiency of the speaker, Japanese-English codeswitching is not random and is not a sign of linguistic inadequacy. Both the limited-proficiency bilingual university EFL learners and the balanced bilingual children skillfully used codeswitching to make their speech salient to their interlocutors and to enrich and vitalize its quality.

Acknowledgments

This is a revised and expanded version of an invited talk presented at the Japan Association for the Study of English Communication (JASEC), Tokyo, March 18, 1995. Portions of the data were also presented at the Annual Conferences of the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET), Tokyo, September 15, 1995.

Notes

1 This paper is the lead article in a recent theme issue of *The Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (1995, Vol 16: 1 & 2) titled 'Multilingual Japan'. In their introduction, the authors note the urgent need for vigorous research on bi-multilingualism in Japan to dispel a "chronic dependency on the invented tradition of monolingualism and monoculturalism (p. 2)." For additional treatments of language use in Japan, see Iwasaki (1994) and the theme issues of the *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* (1994, Vol. 5, Numbers 1 & 2), and *World Englishes* (1995, Vol. 14, Number 1).

2. See Gould's classic, *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981), for a detailed discussion of the numerous flaws in early research methodology.

3. For information on bilingual programs in Canada, see Cummins & Swain, 1986, or Genesee, 1987. For information on bilingual education in the U.S., see Hakuta, 1986; Simoes, 1976; and Trueba & Barnett-Mizrahi, 1979. For a more recent perspective, see Ambert, 1991; Paulston, 1992; and Valdes & Figueroa, 1994. An early general work which is still useful is Grosjean, 1982.

4 As defined by Milroy (1987: 211), the term describes bilinguals who do not know either of their two languages "well enough to sustain the advanced cognitive processes which enable them to benefit from mainstream education." The term has been used by educational psychologists such as Cummins

5. For detailed treatments, see books edited by Jacobson (1990) and Heller (1988) and the recent theme issues of the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, (1992, Vol 13, Numbers 1 & 2) and *World Englishes* (1994, Vol 13, Number 2). For analysis of examples from multilingual African contexts, see Myers-Scotton, 1993a.

6 See Chomsky (1993) for a statement of the current UG view.

7. For a detailed discussion of grammatical constraints on codeswitching in a number of languages, see Myers-Scotton, 1993b.

8. The concept of situational language varieties was proposed in a classic paper by Blom and Gumperz (1972). The authors suggested that the use of different linguistic varieties was linked to particular social contexts. Language choice thus embodied the "social situations, roles and statuses and their attendant rights and obligations, expectations and assumptions" (Heller, 1988; p. 5) and use of a particular language variety thereby became a metaphor for social meaning. For a recent discussion of language choice as a political strategy, see Heller, 1992 and Myers-Scotton, 1993a. Other interesting examples of codeswitching to signal ethnic identity in multilingual African situations are reported in Koll-Stobbe, 1994.

9. For an early treatment of Spanish-English switching, see Valdes, 1981. See Poplack, 1988 and Auer 1988 for additional studies of the discourse-enhancing functions codeswitching can serve in a conversation.

10 The pioneering work on narrative analysis is Labov's 1972 study of Black English Vernacular narratives A paper by Koike (1987) presents a good analysis of a Spanish-English speaker's narrative, using a Labovian analytical framework For further discussions of of codeswitching during narratives in different languages, see Eastman 1992, Koll-Stobbe, 1994, and Myers-Scotton, 1993a.

11 In her study of codeswitching in bilingual Japanese-Canadian *Nisei* (1995), Nishimura stressed the multifunctional nature of switching and identified three types of switch: (1) Switching related to the participants in the interactions; (2) switching related to the individual's structuring of his/her discourse, particularly switches which intensify the individual's involvement; and (3) switching to create a "stylistic" effect; for example, using switching to set apart reported speech. Nishimura also found a number of switches which were functionally neutral, that is, it was not possible to determine what purpose they served in the conversation.

12 Myers-Scotton (1992; p 19) has defined the matrix language as "the language which sets the morphosyntactic frame for codeswitching utterances." It is determined by counts of morpheme frequency

for all languages used within the data set. The matrix language is the one having the majority of morphemes. Additional languages are termed embedded or donor languages.

13. Even taking into account the fact that the frequency count in the category of English noun switches was inflated by the inclusion of task words such as "correct", the difference between Japanese and English switches was still remarkable.

References

Ambert, A. (Ed.). (1991). *Bilingual education and English as a second language: A research handbook, 1988-1990.* New York: Garland.

Auer, J. (1988). A conversational analytic approach to codeswitching and transfer. In M. Heller (Ed.). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 187-214). The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.

Azuma, S. (1987). Conversational code-switching in Japanese/English. *JACET Bulletin*, 18, 1-20.

Baker, C. (1988). *Key issues in bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Belazi, H., Rubin, E. & Toribio, A. (1994). Codeswitching and X-bar theory. The functional head constraint. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 25, 221-237.

Blom, J. & Gumperz, J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication.* (pp. 407-434). NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Chomsky, H. (1993). A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In K. Hale & S. Keyser (Eds.). *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger* (pp. 417-454). Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Cummins, J. (1984). Bilingualism and cognitive functioning. In S. Shapson & V. D'Oyley (Eds.). *Bilingual and multicultural education: Canadian perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. & Swain, M. (1986). *Bilingualism in education*. New York: Longman.

Crystal, D. (1985). How many millions? —The statistics of English. *English Today* , 1.7-9.

Cziko, G. & Koda, K. (1987). A Japanese child's use of stative and punctual verbs. *Journal of Child Language*, 14, 99-111.

Dabene, L. & Billiez, J. (1986). Code-switching in the speech of adolescents born of immigrant parents. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 8, 309-325.

Eastman, C. (1992). *Codeswitching*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fotos, S. (1990). Japanese-English code switching in bilingual children. *JALT Journal*, 12, 75-98.

Fotos, S. (1991). The cloze test as an integrative measure of EFL proficiency: A substitute for essays on college entrance examinations? *Language Learning*, 41, 313-336.

Fotos, S. (1993). Consciousness raising and noticing through focus on form: Grammar task performance versus formal instruction. *Applied Linguistics*, 14: 385-407.

Fotos, S. (1994a). Japanese-English codeswitching in EFL classrooms. Presentation. JALT Annual Conference. Matsuyama, Japan. October 10.

Fotos, S. (1994b). Integrating grammar instruction and communicative language use through grammar consciousness-raising tasks. *TESOL Quarterly*, 28, 323-351.

Genesee, F. (1987). *Learning through two languages: Studies of immersion and bilingual education*. Cambridge, Mass: Newbury House.

Genesee, F. & Bouris, R. (1982). The social psychological significance of code switching in cross-cultural communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 1, 1-27

Goffman, I. (1974). *Frame analysis*. New York: Harper and Row.

Gould, S. (1981). *The mismeasure of man*. New York: W.W. Norton

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Gumperz, J. (1982). Conversational codeswitching. In J. Gumperz (Ed.) *Discourse strategies* (pp. 59-99). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hakuta, K. (1986). *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism* New York: Basic Books.

Hatch, E. & Farhady, M. (1982). *Research design and statistics for applied linguistics* Rowley, Mass. Newbury House.

Heller, M. (Ed). (1988) *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* Amsterdam Mouton de Gruyter.

Iwasaki, Y. (1994). Englishization of Japanese and acculturation of English to Japanese culture *World Englishes*, 13, 261-272.

Jacobson, R. (1990) *Codeswitching as a worldwide phenomenon* New York: Peter Lang

Jake, J. (1994). Intrasentential code switching and pronouns: On the categorical status of functional elements. *Linguistics*, 32, 271-298

Kachru, B. (1994). Englishization and contact linguistics. *World Englishes*, 13, 135-154.
Koike, D. (1987). Code switching in the bilingual Chicano narrative. *Hispania*, 70, 148-154.
Koll-Stobbe, A. (1994). English in code-alternations: Towards an integrated study of codeswitching. *World Englishes*, 13, 203-214.
Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Laurie, S. (1890). *Lectures on language and linguistics methods in the school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Loschky, M. (1989). A syntactic analysis of English-Japanese intrasentential code switching. Presentation, JACET Annual Convention, Kyushu. November.
Maher, J. & Yashiro, K. (1995). Multilingual Japan: An introduction. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 16, 1-17.
Maynard, S. (1989). *Japanese conversation*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
McClure, E. (1977). Aspects of code-switching in the discourse of bilingual Mexican-American. In R. Duran (Ed.). *Latino language and community behavior* (pp. 69-94). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
McClure, E. & McClure, (1988). Macro- and micro-sociolinguistic dimensions of codeswitching in Vingard (Romania). In M. Heller (Ed.). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 25-52). Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
Meisel, J. (1994). Code-switching in young bilingual children: The acquisition of grammatical constraints. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 16, 381-412.
Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. (1985). Linguistic change: Social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 339-384.
Milroy, L. (1987). *Observing and analyzing natural language*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
Myers-Scotton, C. (1992a). Common and uncommon ground: Social and structural factors in codeswitching. *Language in Society*, 22, 475-504.
Myers-Scotton, C. 1992b. Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. In C. Eastman (Ed.). *Codeswitching* (pp. 19-40). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Myers-Scotton, C. 1993a. *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Myers-Scotton, C. 1993b. *Social motivations for codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Nishimura, M. (1992). Language choice and in-group identity among Canadian Niseis. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 3, 97-113.
Nishimura, M. (1995). A functional analysis of Japanese/English code-switching. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 23, 157-181.
Paulston, C. (1992). *Sociolinguistic perspectives on bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Peal, E. & Lambert, W. (1962). The relationship of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs*, 76, 27: 1-23.
Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English *Y termino en espanol*: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18, 581-618.
Poplack, S. (1988). Contrasting patterns of codeswitching in two communities. In M. Heller (Ed.). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 215-244). Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
Romaine, Suzanne. (1989). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Simoes, A. (Ed.). (1979). *The bilingual child: Research and analysis of existing educational theories*. San Francisco: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Stafanakis, E. (1991). Early childhood education: The effects of language on learning. In. A. Ambert (Ed.). *Bilingual education and English as a second language: A research handbook, 1988-1990* (pp. 139-170). New York: Garland
Tannen, D. (1979). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectation. In. R Freedle (Ed). *New directions in discourse processing 2*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
Tickoo M (1993). When is a language worth teaching? Native languages and English in India. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 6, 225-240.
Trueba, H. & Barnett-Mizrahi, C. (Eds.). *Bilingual multicultural education and the professional: From theory to practice*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.
Valdes, G. (1981). Codeswitching as deliberate verbal strategy: A microanalysis of direct and indirect requests among bilingual Chicano speakers. In R. Duran (Ed.) *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior* (pp. 95-107). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
Valdez, G. & Figuroa, R. (1994) *Bilingualism and testing. A special case of bias*. Norwood, New Jersey Ablex.

Teaching Reading to a Developing Bilingual Baby: A Case Study in Three Stages

Laurel Diane Kamada

Hirosaki University, Humanities Faculty, 1 Bunkyo-cho, Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture 036 Japan

This paper summarizes three stages of a case study of the literacy development of the author's English-Japanese bilingual child, which started when the baby was six months of age. In accordance with Cummins' (1989) interdependence principle, it was felt that learning literacy in the minority language (English) first would contribute to, not hinder, literacy in the majority language (Japanese) which would be learned in school later. It was felt that in order to teach literacy at home, the most effective approach would be to start as early as possible. Stage I of the study (0.6 -1.3) focuses on Doman's (1964) method of teaching a pre-verbal infant to read English, although modifications were made to suit the subject. In Stage II (1.3 - 2.2), newer research from the U.S. Office of Education (Adams, 1990a, 1990b) and other reports (Wallace, 1988) provided the basis for revisions in teaching methods that placed more emphasis on context and meaning. With the subject's development of speech production, reading was verified orally for the first time. In Stage III (2.2 - 2.10), several milestones were seen, as 30 words read singly were combined to be read in phrases and simple sentences. Several two-word phrases were induced verbally through reading by combining words that had otherwise not yet been heard. In this stage, half of the Japanese *hiragana* syllabary was learned and the ability to read at least 10 words in combinations of those *kana* was demonstrated. Also, the ability to put *kana* blocks together to form words was shown.

<二言語習得過程にある幼児に対する読字教授：３段階（６ヵ月から３４ヵ月）のケース・スタディ>
この論文は、本研究者の子どもである英語ー日本語「潜在」バイリンガル幼児を被験者として、６ヵ月以降の読み書き能力の発達を３段階に分け、追跡したケース・スタディの報告である。カミンズ(1989)の「相互依存の原理」によると、先に少数言語（この場合、英語）の読み書きを学ぶことにより、後の学校における社会の主流言語（日本語）の読み書き学習が阻害されることなく、むしろ促進されるとされる。家庭で英語を教えるのに最も効果的な方法は、できるだけ早くこれを開始することであると考えられる。本研究の第１段階(0.6-1.3)では、前言語期にある幼児に母語としての英語の読み書きを教えるために開発されたグレン・ドーマン（1964）法を、一部修正の上、使用した。第２段階（1.3 - 2.2)では、この方法に加え、米国教育局の新しい研究等の結果をもとに、文脈と意味の理解をより強調した方法も導入した。被験者がことばを話し始めてから、始めて声に出して読むことができたと確認されたのは、この段階にある2.1の時である。第３段階（2.2 - 2.10）では、英語については30の語を読むことができ、これらの語をいくつか組み合わせた句や簡単な文を読むこともできるようになるなど、著しい発達が観察された。日本語についても、ひらがなが約半数、またこれらのひらがなで書かれた語も少なくとも10語読めるようになった。加えて、この段階では、ひらがなが書かれたブロックを組み合わせて、語を作ることもできるようになった。

Introduction

Research indicates that for bilinguals, instruction in the minority language positively effects overall learning and development of the second (majority) language (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Cummins, 1989; Cummins, 1991; Gonez & Kodzopeljic, 1991, Verhoeven, 1991a; Cummins, 1994). While not specifically referring to home schooling, a considerable amount of evidence to support the interdependence principle has been presented by J. Cummins (1989), who argues

> . . . although the surface aspects (e.g. pronunciation, fluency, etc.) of different languages are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency which is common across languages. This 'common underlying proficiency' makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages. Transfer is much more likely to occur from minority to majority language because of the greater exposure to literacy in the majority language outside of school and the strong social pressure to learn it (1989, p. 22).

Allister Cumming (1994) also points out that much research has revealed extensive positive transfer of literacy knowledge from first to second languages.

If the minority language is not taught in the school, however, mixed-language and language minority families wishing to promote the overall learning and development of their bilingual children in two languages may be faced with the prospect of teaching the children literacy in the minority language at home. This, in fact, was true of the researcher, an American married to a Japanese and living in Japan.

The birth of our first child, a boy named Jonah (hereafter referred to simply as "J."), prompted an analysis of the situation. It was felt that J's mother tongue, the minority language (English), would be his L1, while the father's and the societal language would be his L2. Although J. was placed in a day care center where only Japanese was spoken from 8 months of age, in the home, English was used

with the mother while Japanese was used with the father. It was thought that by teaching English literacy at home first, the transfer later to Japanese literacy introduced in schools would have a more positive and successful result than allowing Japanese literacy to be taught first and then attempting to teach English at home at some later point in time during elementary school. Moreover, the researcher believed that getting a firm grounding in English literacy early—before being immersed in the majority language school system, which tends to be very demanding in terms of homework and other activities —would help in maintaining the minority language.

This paper culminates a case study in three stages following J's literacy development from six months to 2 years and ten months of age. The long-term goal was for the development of J's literacy in two languages, with the majority language literacy to be learned in school starting from first grade, and the minority language literacy education to commence in the home prior to first grade.

With the sequence of literacy acquisition (English literacy to precede Japanese literacy) thus decided , the question of how early to begin instruction had to be answered. Because it was thought that much time would be needed to work on English literacy before the start of first grade, it was felt the more time available, the better. The decision to start as early as possible was further supported by research indicating that children's receptivity to learning certain aspects of language is especially prime at an early age and tends to decline with age (Newport, 1988; Doman, 1964). Newport (1988) examines why young children are superior to older children and adults at language acquisition, while at the same time inferior in other cognitive tasks. She provides a general explanation for this through examination of acquisition of complex verbs in American Sign Language. She states:

> . . .the research shows a striking tendency for children—and only children—to acquire language in a particular fashion. . . [one possible explanation is that] children have a special set of skills for language acquisition which declines with age. A second possibility is that the cognitive limitations of the child provide the basis on which the child's componential learning occurs, and that the expansion of these cognitive abilities with age is in part responsible for the decline in this type of learning (Newport, 1988, p.147).

Although the above refers more specifically to the verbal aspects of linguistic acquisition, in recent years more and more research has come to show the relationship of literacy development to the overall picture of language development (Wallace, 1988).

Pioneering research on the notion of teaching infants reading, preferably from birth, can be credited to Glenn Doman (1964) Doman's philosophy is that while talking and writing are motor abilities which require skills that babies have not yet acquired, reading is a sensory ability like hearing and is received through the visual pathway. Thus reading can be learned from birth, he argues.

The original purpose of this research was to test Doman's theory, but at the same time, not to sacrifice success at the expense of principle. Throughout this study, repeated revisions in literacy methodologies came about through an evolving process of experimentation and reading about research in the field. Research sponsored by the United States Office of Education (Adams, 1990a, 1990b) and other studies (Wallace, 1988) revealed problems in Doman's methods (see Stage II below). Nonetheless, while these newer studies are critical of Doman-type of methods, they do not specifically indicate an optimal time to begin literacy instruction, nor do they contain cautions of when not to begin. It was decided at the outset of this study to incorporate other newer methods along with Doman's method and to revise methodologies throughout the process according to the needs of and learning strategies incorporated by the subject, and to be flexible in regards to other unexpected occurrences and outcomes throughout the process Thus it was decided to begin as early as possible because it seemed to not be in conflict with new research and also for the other above-mentioned reasons. In the case of J., the decision to start as early as possible meant starting at six months of age (explained below)

This paper presents an overview of J's literacy development in three stages. The divisions of the stages were determined arbitrarily on the basis of reporting deadlines for academic purposes However, with the continuation of the project at the completion of Stages I and II, an opportunity to re-evaluate methods and incorporate revisions created the coincidence of meaningful divisions based on method changes Stage I of the study, running from 6 through 15 months of age (0 6 - 1:3), was reported on at the 1992 JALT International Conference in Tokyo, and is presently in press (Kamada, forthcoming) It focuses on Doman's method of teaching reading to a pre-linguistic baby. Stage II (reported on at the 1993 JALT International Conference in Omiya), covered the period of 15 to 26 months of age (1 3 - 2.2) At this stage a great deal of experimentation in methodology was incorporated, with emphasis shifting away from the question of the optimal age to begin and the possibility of teaching a preverbal baby to read English Now the emphasis centered on finding the "best" method of teaching literacy to a young child Based on newer research, revisions in methods

were introduced and incorporated as the subject began to produce language orally Correlations between the subject's initial speech and early reading instruction were examined. In Stage III, covering the period from 26 to 34 months of age (2 2 - 2.10), the influence of the unintended introduction of L2 literacy, reading Japanese *hiragana*, as well as the interdependence between the two languages, were briefly examined.

Stage I (Age 0:6 to 1:3)

Stage I covered the period of teaching a bicultural, and potentially bilingual, baby to read English from 6 to 15 months of age. The original questions dealt with in this first stage of the study were whether or not it would be possible to teach an infant to read before speaking, and if so, what would be the optimum age to begin. The initial methods used in this study to teach J. to read were based on Doman's method (1964), with modifications (specified below) to meet our own specific needs and limitations.

Doman's basic philosophy is the sooner reading is taught, the better—preferably, it should be taught from birth. Doman uses a whole word approach--referred to elsewhere (Wallace, 1988) as the "look-say method"—in which he has mothers flash word cards without pictures in front of the baby while saying the words. The cards are shown in groups of five, each with a different word on it. There are five cards in a group, and five groups are to be shown three times a day each, making a total of 25 words shown in 15 sessions daily Doman admonishes that at least 30 minutes should be allowed to elapse between each session, and that sessions should be held when both the baby and mother are relaxed and in a good mood. Mothers are to "retire" one word from each of the five groups and introduce one new word in its place every day. This means that five new words are to be inaugurated daily, with each word shown for five consecutive days. Thus, 35 new words are introduced weekly, for a total of 150 new words monthly Doman also stresses the use of lower case letters, written in large size and red color at first, and then in later stages, reduced in size and changed to black. He also argues that the ABC's should not be taught at first.

In attempting to apply Doman's methods, the researcher encountered a number of problems which necessitated modifications in methodology First, a number of logistic concerns involving the multifaceted needs of a newborn made it impractical to begin teaching reading from birth: it was deemed impossible to find 15 times a day, 30 minutes apart, when both mother and child were in a good enough mood to concentrate on reading Even when the project began after the subject was already six months of age, a number of considerations necessitated considerable revision of Doman's methods.

In addition to the timing of the inception of the lessons, it was also felt advisable to alter the tone of the procedure. Rather than rigorously following Doman's system of constant and regular drilling of words, the researcher instead introduced and practiced the reading of words in an extremely low-key manner on opportune occasions when it was felt that the subject would be receptive Thus the lessons took the form of a "word game" played with J. This activity was not something that J. and his mother (who holds a full time job) did every day; sometimes there would be intervals of weeks in which there was no reading at all. The word game was just another of the many things that were done together in play, along with such activities as playing with puzzles, taking walks, playing in the snow and watching videos. There was no pressure involved in the process of teaching J. to read; it was an easy-going, fun process of getting acquainted with and learning to enjoy words and their meanings and the stories that they tell us in books.

Perhaps the biggest problem encountered with Doman's system, however, was the lack of comprehended vocabulary in infants. As explained above, the Doman method entails showing groups of cards, each with a different word on it, new words are constantly introduced at a pace of 35 a week. Yet infants have few words they actually know Moreover, the lack of the "naming insight" (McShane, 1980, Foster, 1990), which begins to develop near the end of the pre-linguistic stage at around two years of age, makes it difficult for babies to understand the way in which words represent objects and concepts Babies begin to speak sometime soon after the development of this "naming insight" which Foster (1990) refers to as the point in which children come to fully understand the symbolic quality of words A relationship between comprehension of words, the onset of production of words through speech, and the genesis of the ability to read those words was felt to be apparent throughout the process of Stage I Yet Doman never addressed these issues, even though his work was revised several times over the years (the latest revision being published in 1986) The researcher, feeling that trying to teach a baby to read a word which he had not yet even comprehended would be a meaningless waste of time, decided that only words which were verified to be already comprehended, based on physical responses by J., would be used This limited the number of words which could be introduced daily or weekly

Another problem that arose with Doman's method was that of the time logistic, even after six months of age it simply was not possible to daily conduct 15 sessions with 30 minute intervals while

maintaining Doman's rule of only teaching when both mother and child were in good moods. The tremendous amount of time required to make the word cards also made it difficult to follow the Doman regimen. The combination of limitations in the subject's known vocabulary, as well as the need to create enough time during the day for repeated intervals of calm, happy moods for both subject and researcher, and the number of cards that could practically be produced, led to the decision to show only one group of six words several times daily.

At the completion of Stage I, when J. was 15 months old, it was not clear whether he had actually been reading words or not. The single empirical result was that when the "bellybutton" card was shown, J. touched his bellybutton on several occasions. It proved difficult to verify reading comprehension when the child was not able to give verbal feedback. However, it was felt that other positive results emerged from the project. The extra stimulus of repeated sessions of talking about words, objects and their meanings was felt to have influenced the subject's verbal aural and oral development, although it was not possible to verify this empirically. The concept that symbols carry meaning was introduced, and the subject gained exposure to alphabetic symbols. It was felt that the language-specific rules of written English, such as top-to-bottom and right-to-left reading scan, were internalized by the subject and could be verified by the way in which he manipulated word cards and books.

Research supports the positive effect of such early exposure to language and reading practices. Caplan and Caplan (1977) reported that toddlers who spent 15 minutes a day with their mothers labeling and identifying objects were more advanced in speech than those children who did not have such stimulation. The importance of the parents' role was further substantiated by Verhoeven (1991b), who demonstrated that the extent of the caretaker's interaction in the first language was positively related to the child's bilingual proficiency level. The procedure employed with J. in this study created opportunities for the subject to play word games other than reading, such as naming and recognizing objects. It appeared that such efforts positively affected speech development.

Martlew and Sorsby (1995) have reported that children with superior early metalinguistic skills, especially the ability to show representational abilities in tasks of graphic notation, later showed enhanced acquisition of literacy. In their study, a task to test metagraphic knowledge was used, requiring the differentiation of letters, words, pictures and numbers. With J., it was felt that in Stage I, even before the writing aspect of literacy was undertaken, a framework was laid toward the development of his early metalinguistic knowledge when J. demonstrated the ability to recognize the differences between words, letters, numbers and pictures.

At the end of Stage I, it was not determined if 6 to 15 months was the optimal age to begin teaching reading or not. It was concluded that Doman's method might not be "the only" or "the best" method for teaching infants to read, if any existed. Rather than starting to teach a baby to read from birth, it was felt that "reading readiness" is what should be started from day one, beginning with comprehension of words and production through speech—a process normally achieved unconsciously and naturally.

Stage II (Age 1:3 to 2:2)

The second stage of this study covered the period from 15 to 26 months of age (1:3 - 2:2). Doman's method was reevaluated in light of more recent research on the process of learning to read. In particular, one study coming out of a United States Office of Education (USOE) funded project conducted by Marilyn J. Adams (1990a) and summarized again separately (Adams, 1990b) addressed many concerns neglected by Doman. For example, unlike Doman, Adams emphasized the concept of "reading readiness" or "prereading skills", including such skills as reciting ABC's, recognizing letters (capital and lower case), being able to print a few words, inventing spellings, and hours of being read to. I would add to this such activities as watching made-for-children videos and television programming such as Sesame Street, playing with magnetic letters, and word games. Adams (1990a, 1990b) points out that becoming aware of spoken words is important in preparing a child to read. Looking at how words are broken into syllables and examining words that rhyme are two examples of activities that enhance such awareness.

In marked contradiction to Doman's method, the USOE study on first graders found that the single best predictor of first-year reading achievement was prereaders' letter knowledge (Adams, 1990a, 1990b). Simply stated, this means learning the ABC's--which Doman feels should be left until later—contributes to reading achievement. Letter knowledge includes being able to recite the names of the letters of the alphabet, usually in the form of the ABC song, and then being able to recognize and say the letters, and finally knowing their phonetic sounds. It was determined that being able to recite the names of the letters before being able to recognize them gives children an advantage. "By thoroughly learning the names first, children have a peg to which their perceptions can be attached. More than that they have a set of conceptual anchors with which to sort out relevant and irrelevant differences in the letter's appearances (Adams, 1990b, p. 65)." Doman does not attend to this point,

as he advocates teaching infants words on cards without any such pegs in place.

In the case of J., since Doman's method was used initially, 30 words were learned without any knowledge of the alphabet. Later, the ABCs were introduced, as further reading convinced the researcher that teaching the alphabet would help–not hinder–the process of reading. It would have been impossible to ignore the ABCs anyway, as they appear in most good children's television programming and videos. However, I feel that J 's having learned his first 30 words before having any knowledge of the ABCs perhaps made some significant differences between him and children taught in the traditional manner, with introduction of letters (ABCs) first and then progression to words. J. learned a group of words first and then later came to notice individual letters making up those words, especially the initial letters. When he would notice a capital "D" , for example, in a written word he did not know, like "Dangerous", he would point and say, "Daddy." To this, my response would be something like this: "Yes, that's right. Very good. That's Daddy's D, isn't it? The same D as in Daddy."

The above USOE study (Adams, 1990a, 1990b) revealed that for preschool children, teaching upper case letters first would probably be better to start with, as capital letters are visually easier to discriminate from one another. Lower case letters should be used later for older school age children. In contrast, Doman prefers lower case letters, since that is what most print consists of. It wasn't determined in the present study which would be more beneficial in the long run. As the Doman method was used from the start, throughout this study nearly all words written on cards were presented in lower case, except for the initial capital used in proper nouns. Later, more exercises with capital letters were incorporated. Most ABC books use capital letters and perhaps because of this, J. was able to recognize and name more capital letters in isolation earlier.

The USOE study found that the second best predictor for reading success was children's ability to discriminate between phonemes auditorily (Adams, 1990a, 1990b). Knowing individual letter-sound correspondences contributed to reading achievement Phonics is another area which Doman leaves untouched. Sounding out words and word identification instruction which establish paths from the print to spelling, speech meaning and context, while basic in Adam's study (1990a, 1990b), are not mentioned by Doman.

Another positive factor cited by the Adams study was interactively reading aloud to children; this was shown to significantly increase the learning of word meaning. By reading to children, parents actively engage their attention so that the books are not merely being read, but being enjoyed together. Parent and child together can talk about and become aware of the content of the story, the layout, the print, the pictures and relevance to their own lives.

In another study, Catherine Wallace (1988) has us consider what really constitutes reading by asking the question, "What is 'learning words?'" She opposes the use of English phonics methods in the early stages because of its emphasis on decoding over understanding of meaning. Moreover, she also attacks the notion, assumed in the word-card "look-say method", that in the reading process words are learned first. Wallace states

> This puts the cart before the horse we learn new words best through reading. We do not learn new words in order to read In fact we cannot either 'know' or 'learn' words, only meanings. .. we have to consider, firstly, the range of meanings a single word may have. . .., and secondly, the context which makes an item more or less predictable (1988, p.75).

This argument lends support for the point made earlier about the ineffectualness of trying to teach as-yet uncomprehended words to infants Wallace seems to be making a direct attack on Doman by making reference to the "over-anxious Mum using a Teach Your Baby to Read Instruction Kit who continually walked around with 'Mummy' strapped to her head (1988, p 91)" She points out the meaninglessness of not only the use of single words on cards, but also of labeling objects with whole sentences such as, "This is a table." Wallace states "They may be whole sentences, but they have no message, they do not tell us anything They are communicatively empty (1988 p. 91) "

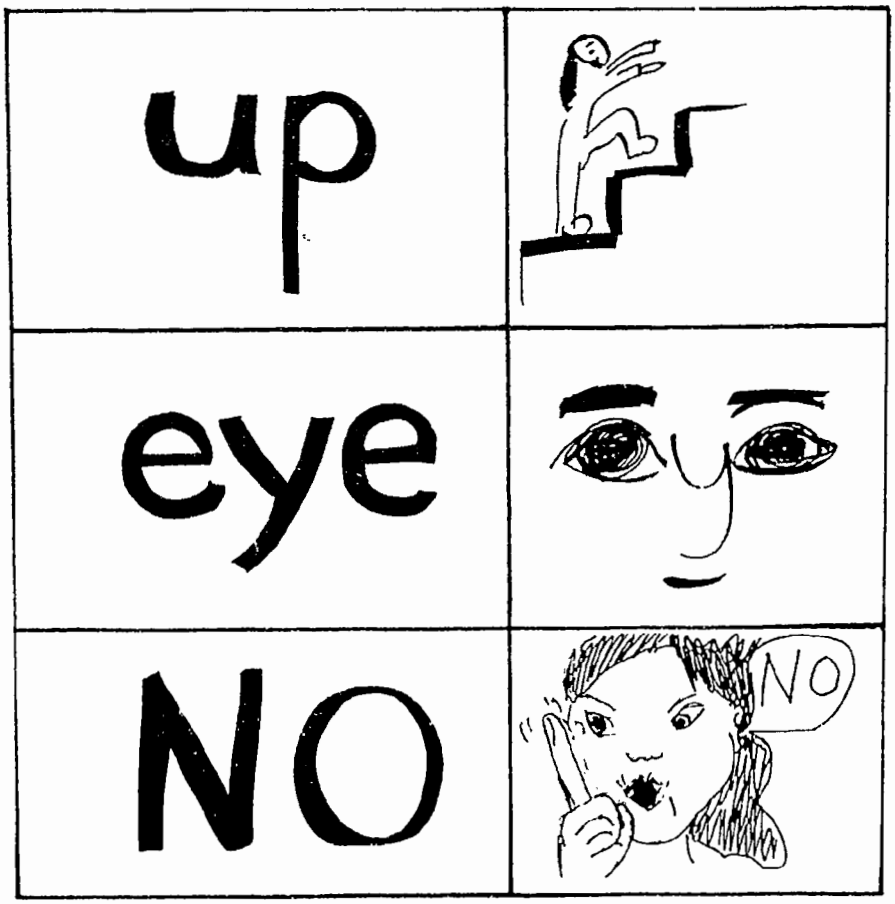
In applying the results of the above research to the case study at hand, it was decided to try to teach written words in context with relevant meaning not as isolated words on cards After all, we don't teach a child to speak by repeating the word, "dog dog, dog" in a loud voice while showing a picture of the animal Instead, a child is more apt to learn the concept in a sentence coming out of an actual event with language such as, "Oh look at these cute dogs This is the mommy dog and this is the baby doggy (Kamada, in press) " The same concept would apply to the teaching of reading, reading is not best learned by drilling recognition of single words on cards, but by being able to make sense of stories in books

Conveying Personal Meaning with Pictured Word Cards

Based on the above research, a new method was adopted from the beginning of Stage II. Word cards were constructed with pictures on the reverse side; cards without any pictures were now seldom used. Nine homemade books were constructed according to Doman's method, with five pages of short phrases or simple sentences, where the flip page featured pictures or photos corresponding to the written words. For example the book entitled *Doing Things* included the following five pages of text: "taking a bath", "reading a book", "brushing teeth", "drawing pictures", and "eating an apple". The book *Everybody Loves Me* included the sentences: "Lina loves Jonah.", "Aaron loves Jonah.", "Grandma loves Jonah.", "Sarah loves Jonah.", and "Mommy loves Jonah.". *Playing with Wataru* had the following phrases: "looking at monkeys", "going for a ride", "pointing at horses", "touching a goat", and "holding a rabbit". *Daily Life* featured: "shoveling snow", "Baby is crying.", "Jonah is sleeping.", "helping Mommy", and "Jonah is dancing.", and *Our bodies* included: "Lina's teeth", "Daddy's legs", "Mommy's hair", and "dirty face". Most of these books were made with photos of J. and his friends or family members in situations that he remembered with enthusiasm.

The procedure used with both the Stage II word cards and the picture books involved showing J. the printed page first, reading while pointing to the words, and then flipping the page to show the picture. Sometimes the process would involve asking questions while pointing to the words, such as, "Whose legs?" This would be followed by the correct answer, "Daddy's legs." Another technique that was used was to leave the last word of a sentence unread, for example, "Baby is . . . ," then pausing, and finally going on to complete the phrase or sentence, i.e., "Baby is crying."

Figure 1: NO, eye and up are the first three words that J. learned to read at 2:1. On one side of the card the word is written. On the flip side is a corresponding picture.



As soon as J. began speaking words clearly (about 24 months of age), another book called *My First Words* was made with five of J.'s first spoken words. "car", "banana", "doctor", "*natto*" (fermented soybeans), and "Mommy". It was decided to see if produced (spoken) words would be easier to read, and it was felt that at least comprehension could be verified on the basis of verbal response. This technique seemed to make a big difference, if for no other reason than that the first spoken words carried more emotional significance than those comprehended words which had not yet been produced orally. From that point on, new reading words were selected from J's most recent newly verbalized words. It was felt that this reading game triggered a spin-off effect, enhancing J's verbal skills, as many words heard even only once were immediately being drilled orally as well as visually as words on cards.

Using Initial Speech Production to Stimulate Early Reading

Up until this point, the main technique of trying to teach reading involved showing a word card, reading it verbally myself, showing a picture of its meaning, and occasionally asking questions to try to illicit some feedback from a pre-verbal baby. Usually there was little or no feedback, nor was feedback expected. The main goal had been to try to maintain J's attention and stimulate his interest and enthusiasm. However towards the end of Stage II, with the development of speech production, for the first time feedback could be stimulated and comprehension tested. The opportunity to seize upon this new approach was taken just after J.'s second birthday

Previously, J. had pointed to his eye on several occasions when shown the "eye" card, but not consistently enough on every trial to verify that he was actually reading. This was at 1:5, before J. had spoken the word "eye". A few months later, J began speaking and the "naming insight" was evident. Because of this earlier experience, it was decided that "eye" would be an easy reading word to "start over with", since the word itself almost looks like a pictograph of an eye, with the "e" as eyes on either side of the nose (the "y") A card was made with the word "eye" written in black on one side, while on the back side, a picture was made with the eyebrows drawn over the e's of the word "eye" and a smile drawn in to make the meaning clear (see Figure 1)

Another innovation adopted around this time involved the word "no" A Sesame Street video included the song "NO, NO, NO, NO" which J liked very much. In the visual portion of this song, the word "NO" itself appears on the screen several times in red capital letters I therefore made a card with the word "NO" in red capital letters on it and held it up to the TV screen when the video song was on. After this was done only one time, J could recognize the word "NO"

I then wondered whether J was able to read this card only because it was written in red, since the other cards that were being focused on at that time were all written in black I therefore decided to make another word card in red. A word was chosen which J had recently come to love to say as he climbed steps, the word "up" (see Figure 1). J also learned to recognize this word in a matter of minutes. Thus, it was determined that the color of the letters was not the deciding factor in J.'s ability to read these words.

At 2:1, J. orally read his first three words from cards--"eye" "NO", and "up"--and was documented on video repeatedly orally reading these words proving that it was possible to teach "reading" with the Doman method at this early age

By the end of Stage II, apart from this breakthrough it was also felt that basic pre-reading skills such as knowledge of some of the letter names had been acquired The ABC song had also been introduced and partially memorized Perhaps the best result coming out of Stage II, however, was J.'s enthusiasm born out of his love of books and being read to and the joy of playing the word games

Stage III (Age 2:2 - 2:10)

Stage III covers the period from the age of 2:2 through 2:10 With surprisingly little effort and long recesses between practice sessions further progress was made in reading English while the main Japanese syllabary was also introduced-leading to the inception of biliteracy

In this stage, the method of introducing new reading words was again revised slightly through spontaneous innovations on the researcher's part Cards were folded in half like a greeting card, with the vocabulary word written on the outside leaf, and the card opening up to show a picture inside Every word card from this point on was made in the presence of J at a moment when the word to be written emerged in conversation or games A point was always made to choose words which first of all, J. had verbalized, and secondly that he was enthusiastic about or that had special meaning for him. With J. watching, words would be written while each letter was voiced, usually with J repeating thereafter. Then one of J's books would be selected in search of a picture of the word to aid in illustration of it, and finally, a picture would be drawn on the reverse of the card

At 2:2 and now into Stage III, although just a week or so after the successful reading of J's first three words at the end of Stage II cards were made in the above style for three of J's favorite words,

"bones" (picture of a skeleton), "key" and "bug". J. was able to read all of these after a few drills (about 10 minutes), while he also maintained the ability to read the three words he had previously learned--"NO", "eye" and "up"--for a total of six words. A few weeks later, still at 2:2, the following words were added to his reading vocabulary: "ball", "apple", "bird", "lion", "car", and "clock". At 2:2, J. was documented on video reading these 12 words repeatedly. A month later at 2:3, he was documented on video reading 30 words. As with the previous words, he was able to read most of these whether they were written on cards or written by hand on paper. At this time, he was also able to read some names of people and most of the symbols for the numbers 1 through 10. At 2:3, his newest reading words consisted of: "Mommy", "Daddy", "Lina", "Jonah", "spider", "airplane", "big", "little", "cat", "dog", "feet", "laughing", "crying", "dinosaur", "doctor", "banana", and "*natto*".

Preparation for a trip to the Japanese grandparents' house for the New Year's holiday prompted me to prepare some cards with the names of family members in *hiragana*. Four cards were prepared in *hiragana*: おばあちゃん(*Obaachan*–grandmother), おじいさん(*Ojiisan*–grandfather), and two cousin's names: もも (Momo) and なおき (Naoki). Motivated in part by his strong adoration of his cousin Momo, J. was able to recognize the *kana* も (mo) almost immediately. The other new *hiragana* word cards were read correctly on occasion, but not consistently by New Year's. In much the same way that he was able to recognize initial letters attached to unknown English words as mentioned above, J. could pick も (mo) out of Japanese writing, and he would often point to this *kana* and exclaim with enthusiasm "mo."

Understanding and Producing New Language Through Reading

At about the same time, when J. was still 2:3, an interesting development occurred. Although he had already verbalized some two-word phrases, the researcher decided to induce him to produce different two-word phrases by placing two word cards beside one another to create expressions that we had not yet heard him say. Using the cards in this way, I was able to get him to produce a number of previously unverbalized phrases, including "big bone", "little bone", "big ball", and "little ball" (Kamada, in press).

Later, twelve short sentences or phrases which J. had already produced orally were written on cards as follows: 1) "Baby is crying.", 2) "Mommy's car", 3) "Daddy's key", 4) "kick ball", 5) "Daddy's kick ball", 6) "Jonah's kick ball", 7) "Jonah, do it.", 8) "Jonah's cracker", 9) "big ghost", 10) "big spider", 11) "Get up Daddy.", and 12) "Daddy's office." By 2:6 Jonah was able to read all of these cards and about half of the contents of the homemade books mentioned above. A month later, two more phrases taken from a book were learned: 13) "knock, knock, knock", and 14) "Heckedey Peg".

When the card "Get up Daddy." was shown, J. often read it as "Daddy get up." because the first word he noticed was "Daddy", and next he recognized the familiar word "up." From there he could complete the reading without even having learned the word "get", which he could not read in isolation, as it carried no meaning for him. J. always received positive praise for reading it backwards, with a subtle correction following: "That's right. Very good, 'Get up Daddy'." In actual conversational usage of the phrase, J. usually pronounced it as "Gup Daddy." However, seeing the familiar word "up" perhaps created a context in which reading enhanced speech.

For a while, J. was very enthusiastic about deciding what to write on the cards. According to his mood on a particular day, he chose phrases such as "Jonah's cracker" or "Jonah's kick ball."

However, at one point, circumstances including illnesses led to a recess of nearly two months. I found that after that long break, J. showed less interest in reading words. I did not actually think he had forgotten the words, but it took much more prompting to get him to respond properly. On the other hand, with practice, he improved rapidly, indicating to me the importance of keeping up the lessons in order to prevent attrition

Introducing Japanese Hiragana

At 2.5, I began working with J on Japanese literacy more seriously. There were a number of reasons for diverging from my earlier plan to let J.'s Japanese literacy wait until he entered elementary school. First of all, after the New Year's experiment of introducing a few words in *hiragana*, it was decided that there would be no loss of English by also having fun with Japanese.

It was also felt that perhaps a vacuum might develop in regards to Japanese reading input and, as mentioned above, since being read to is considered one of the most significant factors in acquiring early literacy, I wanted to fill this gap. The importance of being read to is summed up clearly in Adams' study "The single most important activity for building the knowledge and skills eventually required for reading appears to be reading aloud to children regularly and interactively" (1990b, p. 124)

J. had a lot of Japanese books and magazines that he had received from cousins and friends that he liked very much and I started to occasionally read to him in Japanese at his request. At one

time I had thought that I should only read to J. in English, as I was his source of English input, and that if I were going to deal with Japanese books at all, I should translate them into English as they were read. I never consciously rejected such consistent application of the one-person/one-language approach; the switch into my reading Japanese books in their original was more of a natural, spontaneous process in which it was found that sometimes with good Japanese books, the Japanese onomatopoeia were so wonderfully fun that it would be a disservice to attempt an English translation. Also it was felt that if a child can become bilingual by hearing two languages simultaneously in the environment, why wouldn't it also work for biliteracy? Some may argue that literacy in one language of a bilingual child should be achieved perfectly before moving on to the other. However, it was felt that since these early years are the most impressive for early imprinting, as demonstrated in the research by Newport (1988) cited above, pre-reading exercises should not be limited to English only.

Moreover, it was felt that Japanese instruction might actually contribute to J.'s understanding of English reading. Luckett (1994) lent support for this concept in his report on his bilingual child's reading development. The child was having trouble learning to read English, her L1, because of the difficulty of English phonics. While continuing to struggle with English decoding, she more quickly learned to read Japanese *kana*, with its simpler syllabic breakdown and one-to-one correspondence between symbol and sound. Her ability to read Japanese allowed her to internalize the concept of reading analysis. Later on, she was able to apply strategies similar to those used in reading *hiragana* to sounding out words in English. Thus, the introduction of literacy in her second language, far from hindering progress in her first language literacy, actually helped her overcome her problems in reading her L1.

Such arguments notwithstanding, the primary factor in my decision to start teaching Japanese literacy was the fact that J. showed a strong interest in *hiragana*, and Japanese reading could simply not be ignored. Much as English videos had started teaching J. the alphabet, Japanese children's television programming had already begun teaching him the basic Japanese syllabary, and he strongly desired to learn more When I was reading Japanese children's books to him, J. would often point to those few *hiragana* that he knew and shout them out in glee, saying, "*mo*", "*a*", or "*o*". This also occurred with words that were seen outside of books, such as those printed on posters and signs.

Meanwhile, J. continued to also notice and point out letters of the alphabet and numbers. It was therefore decided to continue concentrating on English reading, but without prohibiting Japanese. An endeavor would be made to teach recognition of both the ABC's and *hiragana*, then we would move on primarily to reading English words and phrases while continuing with Japanese to a lesser extent.

Thus, there are now two charts displayed in our living room--one showing the ABC's and the other, Japanese *kana*. In addition, J. also has a *hiragana* block set. Some of the sample pictures that go with the *kana* on the wall chart were different from those on his blocks, and this caused some confusion. For example, on the blocks, a monkey (*saru*) was used to represent the *hiragana* さ (*sa*), but on the wall chart, the picture of the monkey was was used for る(*ru*), as there is a paucity of Japanese words with an initial *ru* (る) sound. Another problem was that some of the things represented by pictures on the wall chart, such as *asagao* (morning glory), were unfamiliar to J. To ameliorate this problem, revisions were made by simply taping pictures over those on the wall chart, or sanding off and repainting the blocks, so that the two sets matched. There were a few extra blocks in the set, so on one じょな (*Jyona* = Jonah) was written in *hiragana* and a photo of him was taped on the reverse side. On another block, only じょ(*jyo*) was written. Thanks to these revisions, made with J. looking on and "helping", he was able to put these *hiragana* to memory almost immediately. By 2:6 J. could read at least the following 10 hiragana. あ、お、か、さ、じょ、な、ま、り、る、and ん (*a, o, ka, sa, jyo, na, ma, ri, ru,* and *n*).

Starting to Write

When J. was 2.8, he began using his knowledge of reading to develop writing skills. During a session of playing with English word cards, a few new cards were made with J. looking on as usual. Although I felt it was time to finish, J indicated he wanted to do "more words". This time he wanted to write some of the words from one of his favorite videos, in which there is a line where the actor says, "Look at all the colors." He wanted the word "colors" written out, but for a change, he wanted to write it himself. Usually strictness was enforced about not letting J. destroy the cards, but this time it was thought that he should be given a try. He was handed a card with only the lines drawn on it and on another piece of paper he was shown how to write the word letter by letter. Then once again, each letter was gone over slowly together with him. J proceeded to accomplish letter by letter--be it imperfect, nevertheless--a milestone: the successful transcription of his first word, "colors" This lead me to conclude that correlative to the finding that reading interactively to children will contribute to early literacy (Adams, 1990a, 1990b), demonstrating how letters and words are formed in this type of

a playful manner might well also contribute positively to early writing proficiency.

A month later at 2:9, it was felt that another breakthrough had been reached, but this time with *hiragana*. J. could already read じょ (*jyo*), な (*na*) and り(*ri*) in *hiragana*, but now, by placing *hiragana* blocks side by side, he was able to form his name じょな (*Jyo-na* = Jonah) and his cousin's name りな(*Ri-na* = Lina) by himself—another milestone, this time in understanding how *kana* fit together to make words. By the end of Stage III, at 2:10, J could sound out and read Japanese words made up of the *hiragana* which he knew, which comprised about half of the *kana* syllabary. For example, he could read printed words such as おかあさん (*okaasan*—mother) and あか (*aka*—red). ありがとう(*arigatou*--thank you) was sounded out as ありかとう(*arikatou*) at first. This was due to the fact that J. had not practiced reading the voiced consonant-vowel combinations such as "*ga*" and thus he was attempting to read by decoding what he thought was written. Later he was able to combine decoding and whole-word, meaning-centered approaches to sound out words correctly. Although letters of the alphabet also fit together to make words, J. had not yet internalized the function of English phonics, as the breakdown in English of phonemes is more complex than the syllabic chunks of the Japanese *kana*. By the end of the experiment, then, J's English reading was still mainly based on sight reading techniques.

Conclusion

Although there was no clear image of what to expect at the outset of this study, it was hoped that reading ability would develop in the subject as early as possible. The philosophy maintained throughout was that learning and remembering would be achieved through positive emotional experiences. An endeavor was made throughout to create such experiences when teaching.

Some of the original questions asked at the outset of the study were left unanswered. The optimal age to begin teaching reading was not determined. Even if we do assume that the earlier one begins to teach reading, the better, it was not determined if any reading was actually taking place before the naming insight developed around the age of 2 years. For this reason, as well as others involving logistics and the advisability of teaching the alphabet first, many questions remained about the Doman method.

Nonetheless, it was with delight and surprise that success with the Doman method was first realized when the subject was heard reading his first three words shortly after his second birthday. This initial development was later reinforced when the subject demonstrated ability to read over 30 words by 2:3. Three months later, he could read at least 12 sentences or phrases and by the end of the experiment at 2:10, he could also read about half of the Japanese *hiragana* syllabary. He demonstrated analytic ability to sound out and read at least 10 Japanese words made up of combinations of those symbols. He also demonstrated the ability to put *hiragana* word blocks together to form words and names in a synthetic process, and had begun to learn to write English words as well.

According to definitions of what does or does not constitute reading (Wallace, 1988), it may be questionable as to whether or not the subject was actually "reading" by the end of the experiment. Nevertheless, it was felt that much progress was made before the age of three in the subject's reading readiness and metalinguistic development. Consideration of Adam's (1990a, 1990b) findings that letter knowledge and the ability to discriminate between phonemes in preschoolers contributes to their later reading success set the background for a revision to the approach towards methodologies used with J. in the later stages of this study. Use of ABC and *kana* wall charts, the spelling out of words and introduction of first letter names and beginning sounds was felt to positively contribute to metalinguistic development and reading readiness in the subject. This included not only being able to understand differences between words, letters and numbers, but also being able to understand that written words are symbols which carry meaning and represent real things. By 2:10, the subject was able to name the letters seen in written words and to identify through oral production a number of English words, phrases and simple sentences written on cards. The subject was then able to transfer this metalinguistic understanding to the learning of Japanese *hiragana*.

Aside from the above concrete results, it was also felt that the subject, through the process of this experiment, acquired an intrinsic interest and curiosity about words, books and stories that may well improve the prospects for his eventual biliteracy.

References

Adams, M.J. (1990a). *Beginning to read: Thinking and Learning about Print*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Adams, M.J. (1990b). *Beginning to read: Thinking and Learning about Print--A summary*. Summary prepared by Stahl, S., Osborn, J. & Lehr, F. Urbana-Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, The Reading Research and Educational Center, University of Illinois.

Caplan & Caplan. (1977). *The second twelve months of life*. N.Y.: Bantam Books.

Cumming, A. (1994). *Bilingual performance in reading and writing*. Ann Arbor/Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Language Learning/John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Cummins, J. & Swain M. (1986). *Bilingualism in Education*. NY & London: Longman.

Cummins, J. (1989). Language and literacy acquisition in bilingual contexts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. Vol. 10, No 1.

Cummins, J. (1991). Interdependence of first- and second-language proficiency in bilingual children. In Bailystok, E. (ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (pp. 70-89). Cambridge University Press.

Doman, G. (1964). *How to teach your baby to read*. N.Y.: Random House.

Foster, S. (1990). *The communicative competence of young children*. New York. Longman.

Goncz, L & Kodzopeljic, J. (1991). Exposure to two languages in the preschool period: Metalinguistic development and the acquisition of reading. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. Vol. 12, No.3.

Kamada, L. (in press). 発話前の読字：６－１５ケ月のバイリンガル幼児を対象としたケース・スタデイ (Teaching a bilingual baby to read: Case study 6 - 15 months old). In Yamamoto, M., (ed) 『バイリンガルの世界：２つの言語と家族、教育、文化』 (*The world of the bilingual: Two languages and family, school, & culture*) Tokyo. Taishukan.

Luckett, J. (1994). Hiragana, katakana & phonics (In the column by Gray, P.,(ed.). Bilingual Child-Raising in Japan.) *Bilingual Japan. The Newsletter of the JALT N-SIG on Bilingualism* 3:2.

Martlew, M. & Sorsby, A. (1995). The precursors of writing: Graphic representation in preschool children. *Learning and Instruction* Vol 5

McShane, J (1980). *Learning to talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Newport, E. (1988). Constraints on learning and their role in language acquisition: Studies of the acquisition of American sign language. *Language Sciences* Vol 10, No.1.

Wallace, C. (1988). *Learning to read in a multicultural society: The social context of second language literacy*. Oxford: Pergamon Press

Williams, J., & Snipper, G. (1990). *Literacy and bilingualism* New York: Longman

Verhoeven, L. (1991a) Acquisition of biliteracy *AILA Review*, Vol 8.

Verhoeven, L. (1991b). Predicting minority children's bilingual proficiency: Child, family and institutional factors. *Language Learning* Vol. 41, No. 2

A Japanese-English Bilingual Child's System of Answering Negative Questions

Nakagawa Hitomi

2-15-8 Wakabadai, Kita-ku, Kobe 651-11 Japan

This paper examines one semantic aspect of a Japanese-English bilingual child's linguistic ability the way she responds to negative questions in her two languages, which have very different systems for formulating answers in such cases After explaining the differences in the systems the two languages have for responding to negative questions, the paper analyzes the way the child responded to negative questions in English and Japanese during conversation While the child was able to maintain grammaticality in 97 6% of her responses, some interlingual and intralingual contrasts were found in the form of the response she used for differing forms of questions, suggesting the possibility of interlingual transfer

<日本語ー英語バイリンガル幼児の否定疑問に対する応答システム>

この論文は、5歳の日本語ー英語バイリンガル幼児の否定疑問に対する応答システムの研究結果を報告するものである。まず、日本語、英語それぞれの言語の否定疑問における応答システムを概説し、その後、実際のデータの分析結果を報告する。分析の結果、このバイリンガル幼児は、どちらの言語の否定疑問についても、文法的にほとんど誤りをおかすことはなかったが、その応答パターンには、それぞれもう一方の言語からの影響が見い出された。

Introduction

Although the term "bilingual" is often used to refer to anyone who can speak more than one language, when used alone, it is too general to account for the many variables involved in the ability to speak more than one language. A number of factors have therefore been identified to distinguish types of bilingualism. The order of acquisition of the languages, for instance, is used to distinguish between simultaneous bilinguals, who acquire L1 and L2 simultaneously as first languages, and sequential bilinguals, who acquire L2 after L1 (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994, p. 10).

This paper is concerned with a type of infant bilingualism in which children have been regularly exposed to two languages from birth as a result of each of their parent's speaking a different language. According to Valdes, this can be categorized as early, simultaneous and natural bilingualism (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994, p. 11). In most such cases, each parent speaks his or her native language to the child. This particular principle of each parent adhering to one language is called the principle of "one person one language"; it is considered to be effective in establishing bilingualism in a family because it helps the child separate the two languages by connecting each language with a specific person in the child's mind (Taeschner, 1983, p. 233). Earlier studies on this kind of infant bilingualism have been reported by Taeschner (1983), Saunders (1988) and De Houwer (1990).

This paper examines one semantic aspect of the linguistic ability of a Japanese-English bilingual child raised following the "one person one language" method: namely, her system for responding to negative questions in her two languages The paper aims to find out whether a bilingual child can distinguish between the very different Japanese and English systems for dealing with negative questions.

Systems for Respondir to Negative Questions

What distinguishes a negative clause from a positive clause is the presence or absence of a negative marker. Negative can be defined as a state in which a negative marker is present, whereas positive can be said to be a state of having no negative marker. Huddleston (1984) identifies two types of negation: clausal and subclausal (p. 419). This paper focuses exclusively on the former, the latter being explained here only for contrast.

Clausal negation, sometimes called sentence negation, produces a clause which is both syntactically and semantically negative, as in "She isn't happy" (Huddleston, 1984, p. 419). In this sentence, negation is marked by "n't", one of the two most common markers in English, the other being "not" Other frequent negatives in English are "never" preceding a head verb, such determiners as "neither" and "no" preceding a noun, and pronouns such as "nothing" or "none" as the head of an NP (Huddleston, 1984, p. 420). In Japanese, on the other hand, clauses with clausal negation include with the VP "*nai*" or "*zu*" in various inflected forms

Subclause negation, by contrast, is often called word negation, since it is negation within the limit of a word or phrase There is something negative about the meaning of a sentence with subclausal negation--"She is unhappy", for example--yet this is not a syntactically negative sentence as a whole, and is considered in this paper to be a positive statement

Nakau (1984) develops a unique and persuasive discussion of the structure of negative questions and the systems for answering them in Japanese and English He divides the semantic content of a sentence into "propositional content" and "modality" (p 14) In general literature, propositional content

is the central meaning of a sentence. Modality, on the other hand, is generally the meaning added to the central meaning of a sentence, or propositional content, and does not affect the meaning of a sentence as a whole. Thus what Nakau refers to when he uses this term in his paper is the conceptual attitude of the speaker at the point of utterance (p. 14).

Japanese and English present a striking contrast to each other as to what functions as the basis of deciding the form an answer to a negative question will take. In Japanese, it is the whole propositional content that determines whether the answer will be *"hai"* (yes) or *"iie"* (no); in other words, it is the whole propositional content that is judged by the answerer to be true or false. In English, on the other hand, it is the positive part of the propositional content that is taken into account in deciding whether the answer will be "yes" or "no".

The following examples from Nakau (1984, p. 14) demonstrate this contrast (in this and all examples to follow, a word-by-word translation will appear below the Japanese, and then the meaning in English will appear below that).

(J1)Q: *Nani mo kaimasen deshita ka?*
Anything/didn't buy
Didn't you buy anything?
A1: *Hai, nani mo kaimasen deshita.*
Yes/anything/didn't buy
I didn't buy anything.
A2: *Iie, hon wo kaimashita.*
No/book/bought
I bought a book.

(J2)Q: *Nani ka kaimasen deshita ka?*
Something/didn't buy
Didn't you buy something?
A1: *Iie, nani mo kaimasen deshita.*
No/anything /didn't buy
I didn't buy anything.
A2 *Hai, hon wo kaimashita*
Yes/book/bought
I bought a book.

Though the content of the A1 answers to both questions J1 and J2 are the same--that is, the answerer did not buy anything--A1 to question J1 is preceded by *"Hai"* (a Japanese word normally translated "Yes"), while A1 to question J2 is preceded by *"Iie"* (a word usually translated as "No"). This is due to the structural difference in the semantic content of questions J1 and J2. Question J1 consists of negative propositional content–*Nani mo kawaNAKATTA* (You did NOT buy anything)--plus positive modality–*ka* (Is it the case that?) The answerer in A1 for question J1 admits that he/she did not buy anything, and therefore answers using *"Hai"* (Yes). In contrast, in question J2, it is the modality which includes the negative marker. The question comprises positive propositional content–*Nani ka katta* (You bought something--and negative modality–*dewaNAIka* (Is it NOT the case that?) The answerer in A1 for question J2 reckons the propositional content to be false, and therefore answers using *"Iie"* (No).

Now contrast this with similar questions in English

(E1)Q: You didn't buy anything, did you?
A1: No, I didn't
A2: I bought a book

(E2)Q: You bought something, didn't you?
A1. No, I didn't
A2 Yes, I bought a book.

Question E1 consists of negative propositional content--You did NOT buy anything--and positive modality–Is it the case that?–while question E2 consists of positive propositional content–you bought something–and negative modality--Is it NOT the case that? Much as in the two Japanese questions above, these questions have a distinct structure in terms of semantic content; however, there are prominent differences between the two languages as to what stands as the basis of judgment for the answer form. As noted above, it is the positive part of the propositional content that goes through judgment in the case of English, and these two questions have the same positive part you bought something. Because they share the same basis for deciding the answer form, both questions are answered "No" when the answerer did not buy anything

According to Nakau's segmentation of the semantic content of a negative question (Nakau, 1984, p. 14), there are four possible patterns as to the polarity of each segment of a negative question and its answer:

I Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative) + MODALITY (positive)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative)

II. Q. PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative) + MODALITY (positive)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive)

III.Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive) + MODALITY (negative)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative)

IV.Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive) + MODALITY (negative)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive)

This paper will use Nakau's account of the negative answering system, but with some modification. First, because Nakau does not define exactly what propositional content is in his article, this paper will employ the definition proposed by Kuno (1973), that is, that it is the questioner's supposition, or what s/he believes to be true (pp. 273-281). Second, in addition to classifying question-answer pairs into four groups according to their structural differences as shown above, each group will be further divided with regard to the form of the answer. In both Japanese and English, it is quite normal to answer a question with a complete sentence instead of just saying "Yes" or "*Uun*". For example,

(J3)Q: *Dareka kite nai?*
Someone/is here/not
Isn't someone here?
A: *Kiteiru.*
Is here
Someone is here.

(E3)Q: Didn't they come here?
A: They did.

In Japanese, a one-word, predicate-head-only sentence without any subject is often used in this way. The "sentence" is the same as the head of the predicate in the question. In English, answers to non-WH questions can be short sentences consisting of the pronoun and auxiliary verb used in the question. These two sentence forms—one Japanese and the other English—will be referred to as "the basic sentence form" in the rest of this paper, and will be contrasted with simple yes/no answers in analyzing the data.

Dealing With Differing Systems

This paper is a study of the language abilities of one particular bilingual child. It will examine whether or not she can correctly differentiate between the two language systems when answering negative questions, and will also look at the frequency of her use of each different type of answer in each of her languages.

Hoffman (1991), in discussing the interaction of two languages in a bilingual's mind, explains the concept of "language transfer", contrasting it with other concepts that are often used in its place (pp. 95 - 101). "Transfer" is an involuntary use of an element of one language in another, whereas "borrowing" refers to voluntary use. "Transfer" is a neutral term and implies that a bilingual uses all methods from both languages in order to express a meaning. "Interference", on the other hand, while also meaning involuntary use of an element from another language, has a negative meaning. It implies the point of view that a language should be pure without being interfered with by another language.

There are many types of language transfer, phonological, grammatical, and lexical, to name three. The type of transfer most likely to occur in this study is grammatical transfer—the interaction of two grammatical systems. While transfer in itself is not regarded as problematical, in the case of the interaction of the English and Japanese systems for answering negative questions, language transfer may result in the bilingual person communicating a meaning which is the opposite of her intention.

Method

The Subject

The speech corpus of this study was provided by a five year-old girl I will call May (not her real name). May was born in 1989, the daughter of a British father who is a university instructor and a Japanese mother who teaches English at a high school. The family has lived in the Kansai area of Japan ever since May was born. Since both of her parents have jobs, May at present spends weekdays at *hoikuen*, a day nursery, from eight or nine in the morning until five or six in the evening. She spends approximately 32 hours per week with both her parents, 13 hours with her father alone, and 10 hours with her mother alone, excluding sleeping time.

May's father has lived in Japan for more than 10 years, and though he had not encountered the Japanese language until shortly before coming to Japan, he is good at understanding it and fairly good at speaking it. Her mother began learning English as a foreign language at the age of eleven,

and she has been using it on a regular basis since she met her husband 10 years ago. She is excellent at both understanding and speaking English. The language choice in the family, between the parents and between each parent and May, has always been about the same ever since May was born. The language used between the parents is mostly English, whether May is present or not, both at home and outside the home. The father speaks exclusively in English to his daughter, and vice versa. Between the mother and May, Japanese is used in most cases, but not all. May speaks to her mother in English more at home than outside the home.

Besides her parents, May does not have anyone around her regularly who speaks English. At *hoikuen*, she is exposed to Japanese only. Yet she talks in English on the phone with her grandparents in England for 10 minutes once a month, and also, English-speaking friends of the family come to stay for three to four days a few times a year. May is also exposed to English through books, audio and video tapes, and TV as much as she is to Japanese.

One change in the normal family language pattern occurs when the family makes one of its frequent journeys to other countries. They visit England and stay there for two to four weeks every year to see her father's family. They have also been to New Zealand, Hawaii, the mainland of the United States, and some other European countries, staying in each of these places for one to three weeks. When they are outside Japan, the proportion of Japanese spoken in the family decreases, while that of English increases. First, the parents speak to each other exclusively in English when travelling abroad. Second, May speaks to her mother roughly equally in Japanese and in English during these trips. Third, her mother speaks to May in English more often than she does in Japan, though the use of Japanese by her mother still exceeds that of English.

The Study

The speech samples in this study were collected during three sessions on June 12, July 17, and September 18, 1994. Each session was about an hour long, following an hour or tw of chatting and playing games. May was alone with the researcher in a room during the experiment. The researcher spoke both Japanese and English during the experiment, as well as during the chatting and playing time, so May knew that she has a command of both languages.

In each session, after the researcher read to May one to three paragraphs of a children's book, she asked May several questions, including some negative questions, about the story in the book. The stories read were *The Tale of Benjamin Bunny, Baby Brown Bear's Big Bellyache, The Little Red Hen, I Wish I Was Sick, Too!* and *Nezumi no ie sagashi* (Mouse Looks for a House). As can be surmised from their titles, the first four stories were in English, the last one, in Japanese. However, the questions asked were not always in the same language as the story: the researcher sometimes asked questions in Japanese about a story in English, and vice versa. The language of both the stories and the questions was changed randomly to avoid introducing any kind of pattern into the stimulus. The whole conversation was recorded for each session, with May aware that it was being recorded, but only negative questions and answers to these questions were transcribed afterwards.

Questions and answers were written in the standardized dialect when transcribed. They were then classified into groups according to Nakau's (1984) categorization system.

Results

The three sessions produced a total of 82 negative question-answer pairs. On the whole, May's responses to negative questions contained very few grammatical mistakes. Only 2 out of 82 responses can be said to be ungrammatical, as Table 1 shows.

Table 1

May's responses to negative questions classified by language, propositional content (P C) of question and answer (+ or -), and grammatical acceptability. Percentages in parentheses give relative frequencies of acceptable/unacceptable answers for each type of question in each language.

Cat	Ques P C	Ans P C	LANGUAGE: JAPANESE Acceptable	JAPANESE Unacceptable	JAPANESE TOTAL	ENGLISH Acceptable	ENGLISH Unacceptable	ENGLISH TOTAL
I	-	-	10 (100)	0 (0)	10 (100)	13 (86.7)	2 (13.3)	15 (100)
II	-	+	8 (100)	0 (0)	8 (100)	7 (100)	0 (0)	7 (100)
III	+	-	11 (100)	0 (0)	11 (100)	6 (100)	0 (0)	6 (100)
IV	+	+	12 (100)	0 (0)	12 (100)	13 (100)	0 (0)	13 (100)
TOTAL			41 (100)	0 (0)	41 (100)	39 (95.1)	2 (4.9)	41 (100)

The following are some examples of negative questions and responses to them taken from the data collected. For the Japanese questions and answers, English word-to-word translation is provided under each question, followed by translation of the whole sentence. The propositional content and modality are then shown under each question in square brackets [ ] and pointed brackets < > respectively. The particular sentence in which the propositional content and modality are conveyed is written in a standardized and simplified form for convenience. In the case of a question with an if-clause in the Kansai dialect, for example, the propositional content and the modality are represented in standard Japanese and the if-clause omitted for the sake of convenience. Capitals are used to indicate the negative element in either the propositional content or the modality. Bold letters are used for such particles as *mo*, *ka* and *shika* in Japanese and such words as "anything", "already" and "some" in English, as these words are semantically connected with the positiveness or negativeness of the propositional content of the utterances in which they are used. Although *Hai* (yes) and *Un* (yeah) as well as *iie (no)* and *uun* (naw) are used interchangeably in colloquial Japanese (the latter word in each pair being a less formal way of expressing agreement or disagreement), May used the less formal words exclusively in the sessions.

Japanese Examples

I. Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative) + MODALITY (positive)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative)

(1) (This example occurred after May said that she did not want to read the book herself.)
Q: *Hontoni yomitaku nai no?*
Really/want to read/not
You really don't want to read it (yourself)?
[Anata wa hontoni yomitaku NAI]<ka>
[You really do NOT WANT to read it yourself] <Is it the case that?>
A: *Un.*
Yeah.

In example (1), May perceived that the question consisted of a) the propositional content that she did not want to read the book herself and b) positive modality which confirmed the propositional content. Agreeing that the propositional content was true--in other words, agreeing that she did not want to read the book herself--she answered "*Un*" (Yeah).

II.Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative) + MODALITY (positive)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive)

(2) Q: *Koko wa nani mo warui tokoro nakatta?*
Here/any bad point/there wasn't
There wasn't anything bad about this place?
[Koko wa nani ***mo*** *warui tokoro ga NAKATTA] <ka>*
[There was NOT **anything** bad about this place]<Is it the case that?>
A: *Atta.*
There was.

The question in example (2) can be divided into negative propositional content and positive modality. May accepted the propositional content and answered positively in basic sentence form.

III.Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive) + MODALITY (negative)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative)

(3) Q: *Otomodachi to aenakute sabishikunai no?*
Friends/cannot see/sad/not
Aren't you sad not to be able to see your friends?
[Anata wa tomodachi to aenakute sabishii]< no dewa NAI ka>
[You are sad not to be able to see your friends]<Is it NOT the case that?>
A: *Sabishikunai.*
I'm not sad.

In example (3), May contradicted the researcher's supposition that she missed her friends from *hoikuen*, answering in a basic sentence form.

IV. Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive) + MODALITY (negative)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive)

(4) Q. *Konna tokoro ni sundara, suguni byoki ni natchaunja nai?*
Such place/in/if lived/soon/sick/ become/not
If you lived in such a place, wouldn't you become sick soon?
[*Suguni byoki ni naru*]<*dewa NAI ka*>
[You would become sick soon]<Is it NOT the case that?>
A: *Un.*
Yeah.

The question in example (4) consists of a typical negative modality, *-njanai*, and another part that conveys the propositional content. Agreeing with the whole propositional content, May replied "*Un*" (Yeah).

English Examples

I. Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative) + MODALITY (positive)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative)

(5) Q: They (Mr. and Mrs. McGregor) are not coming home anytime soon?
[They are NOT coming home anytime soon]<Is it the case that?>
A: No.

In the system for answering negative questions in English, it is the positive part of the whole propositional content that is determined to be true or false. Therefore, though the whole propositional content of the question in example (5) is negative, only the part without the negative element is the object of judgment. Here, May properly answers "No", denying the positive part of the propositional content, that is, that Mr and Mrs. McGregor are coming home sometime soon.

Both of the questions May answered incorrectly fall into this category:

(6) Q: B.B.B.'s mother didn't get angry, did she?
[B.B.B.'s mother did NOT get angry]<Is it the case that?>
A: Yes.
Q: She got angry?
A: No!

In example (6), May followed the Japanese system for answering negative questions, giving her judgment on the whole propositional content instead of on the positive part of it. In other words, she regarded it to be true that B.B.B.'s mother did not get angry, and therefore answered, "Yes". Needless to say, the correct answer is "no", if one considers only the positive part of the whole propositional content, namely, that the mother did get angry.

Example (7) shows a similar mistake on May's part

(7) (After they had read the episode in which in vain, B.B.B. tried swimming to cure his stomachache)
Q: It didn't help B.B.B., did it?
[It did NOT help B.B.B]<Is it the case that?>
A: Yes.
Q: It did?
A: No!

II. Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative) + MODALITY (positive)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive)

(8) Q: Benjamin did not hide himself, did he?
[Benjamin did NOT hide himself]<Is it the case that?>
A. He did.

In the story, Benjamin Bunny did hide himself under a bucket, but the researcher's supposition was that he did not. May corrected her by using the basic sentence form

III. Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive) + MODALITY (negative)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (negative)

(9) Q: Benjamin was very happy to see his aunt, wasn't he?
[Benjamin was very happy to see his aunt]<Is it NOT the case that?>
A He wasn't

The propositional content of the question in example (9) is positive, and May rightly gave an answer based on judgment of its positive part

IV. Q: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive) + MODALITY (negative)
A: PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT (positive)
(10)Q: "Busy" is the opposite of "lazy", isn't it?
["Busy" is the opposite of "lazy"]<Is it NOT the case that?>
A: Yes.

The question in example (10) comprises positive propositional content and negative modality. May answered, "Yes", accepting the positive part of the propositional content, namely, that "busy" is the opposite of "lazy".

As shown above, when answering negative questions, May generally followed the rules of the language in use, independently of the rules of her other language. She answered the questions in Japanese based on judgment of the whole propositional content, either by saying "*Un*" (Yeah) when accepting it and "*Uun*" when denying it, or by picking up the head of the predicate in the propositional content of the question. When using English, her answers were based on judgment of the positive part of the whole propositional content, and she answered either by saying, "Yes" when accepting it and "No" when denying it, or by producing a sentence consisting of the pronoun and the auxiliary verb of the propositional content of the question.

Table 2 shows the relative frequency and percentage of the two forms of answer--a single word and the basic sentence form--for each category (I to IV) in each language. It can be seen that in some cases, May preferred to answer in a basic sentence form and in others, in a single word. Also, differences across languages were apparent.

Table 2

May's grammatically acceptable responses to negative questions classified by language, propositional content (P C) of questions and answers, and form used in the answer Percentages in brackets give relative frequencies of answers to each question type in each language

Cat	Ques P C	Ans P C	LANGUAGE: JAPANESE *Un/Uun* Only	JAPANESE Basic Sent Form	JAPANESE TOTAL	ENGLISH Yes/No Only	ENGLISH Basic Sent Form	ENGLISH TOTAL
I	-	-	8 (80 0)	2 (20 0)	10 (100)	4 (30 8)	9 (69 2)	13 (100)
II	-	+	3 (37 5)	5 (62 5)	8 (100)	0 (0)	7 (100)	7 (100)
III	+	-	2 (18 2)	9 (81 8)	11 (100)	5 (83 3)	1 (16 7)	6 (100)
IV	+	+	1 (8 3)	11 (91 7)	12 (100)	12 (100)	0 (0)	12 (100)
TOTAL			14 (34 1)	27 (65 9)	41 (100)	21 (55 3)	17 (44 7)	38 (100)

Discussion

In general, May's responses to negative questions contained very few grammatical mistakes. She distinguished between the Japanese system for answering negative questions and the English one, the former being a system based on judgment of the whole propositional content and the latter, on the positive part of the propositional content, as described above.

The two grammatical mistakes she made (examples 6 and 7) could be considered the result of the influence of Japanese on English. They imply that May was following her own internalized rule and was not simply speaking by rote repetition. May seemed to understand the story being read to her in both cases, as she immediately corrected her answer when the questioner asked a similar question: It is possible, however, that she misunderstood the story and suddenly realized that fact when a similar question was repeated However, this second possibility is very unlikely, because for this type of question-answer pair (Category II), consisting of a question of negative propositional content and a positive answer, May otherwise always answered with the basic sentence form, not with "Yes" or "No" as she did in these two cases (see Table 2)

In looking at May's choice of answer form, we see some sets of contrasts (both interlingual and intralingual) in Table 2 above. May seems to follow certain patterns in her replies, depending upon whether the questions are in Japanese or English (interlingual contrast) and whether the questions have positive or negative propositional content (intralingual contrast).

The first example of interlingual contrast is found in May's preference in answer form when the

propositional content of the question is positive (Categories III and IV). In Japanese, she used the basic sentence form to answer in 20 cases (9 cases for Category III and 11 for Category IV) or 87.0% of the time, while she used "*Un*" or "*Uun*" in only 3 cases (2 cases for Category III and 1 for IV), or 13.0% of the time. On the other hand, when answering English questions, she replied "Yes" or "No" in 17 cases (5 cases for Category III and 12 for IV) or 94.4% of the time, while she answered with the basic sentence form in only one case (in Category III) or 5.6% of the time. Thus it is clear she preferred the basic sentence form in Japanese but a simple "Yes" or "No" in English.

The second example of interlingual contrast is found in May's preference in answer form when the propositional content of the question is negative (Categories I and II), though the contrast is not as clear as in the case of questions with positive propositional content. In Japanese she answered with "*Un*" or "*Uun*" in 11 cases (8 cases for Category I and three for Category II) or 61.1% of the time, and with the basic sentence form in 7 cases (2 in Category I and 5 in II) or 38.9% of the time. In English, she answered 16 questions using the basic sentence form (9 in Category I and 7 in II) or 80.0% of the time, and four questions with "Yes" or "No" (all in Category I) or 20.0% of the time. Thus she preferred one-word answers in Japanese and the basic sentence form in English.

Also, an intralingual contrast is found in both languages in May's preference in the answer form depending on the polarity of the propositional content of negative questions. In Japanese, she preferred the basic sentence form when answering questions with positive propositional content (Categories III and IV), using it for 20 answers to 23 questions or 87.0% of the time, and a simple "*Un*" or "*Uun*" when the propositional content of the question was negative (Categories I and II), using it for 11 answers to 18 questions, or 61.1% of the time. In English, too, she preferred the basic sentence form for questions in Categories I and II, using it for 16 answers to 20 questions in these categories, or 80.0% of the time, while preferring a simple "Yes" or "No" answer for questions in Categories III and IV, using it for 17 answers to 18 questions, or 94.4% of the time.

Looking at each of the four categories of question-answer pairs according to polarity, we find that though May generally showed a considerable adherence to one answer form--either the single word or the basic sentence form--depending on the language and the polarity of the propositional content of the question, this was not the case with one category in each language. In Japanese, the exception was when she answered positively to questions with negative propositional content (Category II). She replied "*Uun*" in three cases (37.5%), while answering with the basic sentence form in five cases (62.5%). In English, the exception came when she answered negatively to questions with negative propositional content (Category I), she replied "No" in four cases (30.8%) while answering with the basic sentence form in nine cases (69.2%)

These two types of question-answer pairs--Category II in Japanese and I in English--share one property: The answer is the result of denying the basis of judgment, which is the whole propositional content in Japanese and the positive part of the propositional content in English. For questions with negative propositional content, the basis of judgment is negative in Japanese and positive in English. In contrast, when the propositional content of the question is positive, the basis of judgment is positive in both languages. As shown in Table 2, when denying the basis of judgment of questions with positive propositional content (Category III), May showed a more distinct adherence to one answer form. Thus, the inconsistency of her preference in answer form when denying the basis of judgment of questions with negative propositional content in Categories I and II could to some degree be ascribed to the difference in the basis of judgment between the two languages.

It is no coincidence that the only two mistakes that May made while answering the 82 negative questions came in response to questions in Category I, which pairs English questions with negative propositional content and an answer with negative propositional content. Interlingual transfer from Japanese into English made her follow the Japanese system and resulted in grammatical mistakes.

Another form of interlingual transfer seems to be at work in the opposite direction. Although the proportion of the two answer forms differs considerably between the two languages in three of the categories, this is not the case in Category II, where the propositional content of the question is negative and the answer is positive. May preferred to answer such questions using the basic sentence form in both languages (in 5 out of 8 cases in Japanese and 7 out of 7 in English. Her inclination to do so in English would be logical for the following two reasons. First, the pattern accords with that of Category I, the other category with questions of the same polarity, there, she used this form to give negative answers to questions with negative propositional content in 9 out of 13 cases. Second, the pattern contrasts with those of Categories III and IV, the two with questions of positive polarity. If this explanation is correct, it is with the Japanese questions that May is confused. If the proportions of one-word and basic sentence form answers had been opposite and the frequency of the former had exceeded that of the latter, it would have fitted in well with the rest of her answering pattern. That is to say, the way she answered negatively to Japanese questions with negative propositional content deviated from the expected norm. This could be considered to be the result of interlingual transfer from the English system.

Conclusion

This paper has examined how a five year-old bilingual child replies to negative questions in her two languages, Japanese and English. The Japanese system of answering negative questions is based on judgment of the whole propositional content of the question, whereas the English system is based on judgment of only the positive part of the propositional content. Beside the fact that May basically differentiated between the Japanese and the English answering systems for negative questions, it was found that she had established a particular pattern as to whether to answer with one word or with the basic sentence form. The way May replied to negative questions varied, depending on the type of question in terms of the language and the polarity of the propositional content. Evidence suggestive of interlingual transfer in both directions was also found.

When questions had positive propositional content, May's preference in answer form was unmistakable, presenting a clear contrast between Japanese and English. She preferred to use the basic sentence form to answer Japanese questions and "Yes" or "No" to answer English questions. On the other hand, when questions had negative propositional content, she showed a less distinct contrast in the answer forms used for Japanese and English. Though May generally preferred to use "*Un*" and "*Uun*" in Japanese and the basic sentence form in English, she did not follow this pattern strictly when she denied the basis of judgment in either language. The inconsistency of her preference in the answer form could possibly be ascribed to the difference in the basis of judgment between Japanese and English.

It is pointed out by researchers such as Taeschner (1983) and De Houwer (1990) that the linguistic development of bilinguals does not differ from that of monolinguals. It is quite possible that May's mistakes and inconsistency in answer form are not the result of interlingual interference, but simply the same thing that a monolingual child experiences as a normal process of acquiring one of the two languages. Since this study does not make any comparison of May's language to monolingual native speakers of Japanese and/or English, it would be inappropriate at this point to conclude whether or not May's mistakes and inconsistency in answer form resulted from her familiarity with two languages. It would certainly be interesting to carry out a similar experiment with monolingual children and then compare the results with May's.

References

Bittinger, Judith (Ed.). (1989). *The Little Red Hen.* Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

Bradley Coco, Eugene. (1989). *Baby Brown Bear's Big Bellyache.* New York: Western Publishing Company.

Brandenberg, Franz. (1976). *I Wish I Was Sick, Too!* New York: Random House.

De Houwer, Annick. (1990). *The Acquisition of Two Languages from Birth: A Case Study.* Cambridge. U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffman, Charlotte. (1991). *An Introduction to Bilingualism.* London: Longman.

Huddleston, Rodney. (1984). *Introduction to the Grammar of English.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Kuno, Susumu. (1973). *The Structure of the Japanese Language.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Nakau, Minoru. (1984). 質疑応答の発想と論理 (*Shitsugi oto no hasso to ronri*—Concept and Logic of Questions and Answers). 『日本語学』(*Nihon gogaku*—Japanese Linguistics), 3.4 ,13-20.

Piers, Helen. (1986). 『ねずみのいえさがし』(*Nezumi no iesagashi*—Mouse Looks for a House). Tokyo: Dowaya.

Potter, Beatrix. (1984). The Tale of Benjamin Bunny. *The Complete Adventures of Peter Rabbit* (pp. 21-34). Harmondsworth: Puffin Books.

Saunders, George (1988). *Bilingual Children: From Birth to Teens.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Taeschner, Traute. (1983). *The Sun is Feminine A Study of Language Acquisition in Bilingual Children.* Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Valdes, Guadalupe and Figueroa, Richard (1994) *Bilingualism and Testing: A Special Case of Bias.* Norwood Ablex Publishing.

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR
Defining the Scope of the Bilingualism N-SIG

Steve McCarty

Kagawa Junior College, 1-10 Hama Utazu-cho, Ayauta-gun, Kagawa Prefecture 769-02

Introduction

Bilingualism can be seen as a branch of applied linguistics, a discipline with a canon of literature. Generally, it is the study of languages in contact, within, between and among individuals as well as groups such as families and societies But what specific topics or areas of study are within the purview of bilingualism? Where does it border on or interact with other disciplines? For instance, where languages are in contact, does the study of the cultural factors involved belong to other disciplines or to bilingualism? Moreover, how and why are the concerns of bilingualism in Japan the same or different from those manifested elsewhere?

The National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism was formed in JALT (The Japan Association for Language Teaching) and has grown to include about 200 members because of the recognition that networking and sharing information in terms of this discipline can be helpful, among others for parents struggling to raise children bilingually in Japan Language teachers know that theory and research inform practice, yet given the limited research on bilingualism--especially on bilingualism in Japan--available to date, educators in this N-SIG realize how much more of value there must be to learn about this field. We do not have all the answers: we are searching ourselves. This group therefore has strongly emphasized research in its statement of purpose. It lists the three major goals of the N-SIG to be to: (1) encourage bilingualism research projects and the wide dissemination of findings by organizing an extensive network of researchers and willing bilingual subjects. (2) promote awareness of current developments of interest to these overlapping communities, and (3) provide a base for mutual support among the group's members.

Yet it was felt important to determine exactly what the scope of bilingualism is seen to be, what areas of this field have been the subject of research in this N-SIG so far, and what areas the members wish to see more research in The purpose of this paper, then is to investigate the scope of bilingualism, both as a worldwide discipline and as applied to the needs of foreign language teachers in Japan. By finding out the relative level of interest and relevance perceived by members in regard to areas of study possibly related to bilingualism, the N-SIG will gain some objective data by which to orient its activities in the future

Actually the survey presented here is the second of two related investigations, both hypothesizing the same 27 areas of study in terms of which the scope and priorities of bilingualism might be discerned. The results of the first study were published in "Citation Analysis of Bilingualism N-SIG Publications," which appeared in the bimonthly newsletter of this N-SIG, *Bilingual Japan*, Vol. 4, No 4 (July/August 1995), pp. 7-10 (see also pp. 1-2). While details of that study cannot be repeated in this limited space, there will be cross-references to the first investigation to shed light on what can be concluded from the second one presented here. What follows can only be described as concise research notes. With all the related questions not given full justice, readers are urged to draw their own conclusions from the data and help further define the mission of the Bilingualism N-SIG.

The Bilingualism Survey

A survey was sent to 83 Bilingualism N-SIG members in June, 1995. 38 have been returned, a response rate of 45.6% Limited research funds made it impossible to send the survey to all N-SIG members, so there was some selectivity, with preference accorded to longer standing members. Thus, rather than making any claims for the response rate, let us later see what the results indicate about the expertise of the informants. For the survey sought objective knowledge of bilingualism, while, in effect, creating a data base of members' interests The respondents are to be thanked for representing the N-SIG through their input, which will be taken seriously in charting the future course of the group.

Now let us look closely at the survey instrument four questions asked about each of 27 areas of study possibly related to bilingualism. The 27 areas are presented here in alphabetical order, as they appeared on the survey sheet, but to each category is added in parentheses the abbreviation used in the table of results to follow At the risk of considerable overlap and hardship for the informants, the aim was to be thorough and to go somewhat beyond the scope of bilingualism for its borders to be discerned. The survey results should help to refine the categories, combining or discarding some of them, and thus offer a more definitive taxonomy of bilingualism as viewed by language teachers in Japan

The Bilingualism Survey

Objective, general questions

1A How do you think these areas of study are related to the discipline of bilingualism?
- 1Aa A central or integral part
- 1Ab A minor or penpheral aspect
- 1Ac. Closer to another discipline
- 1Ad Do not know

1B Do you think these areas of study belong within the scope of Bilingualism N-SIG concerns?
- 1Ba Central or integral to our scope
- 1Bb A minor or peripheral area
- 1Bc Not of particular concern to us
- 1Bd Cannot decide/do not know

Personal, professional questions

2A How deeply are you interested in these areas of study?
- 2Aa Very or actively interested
- 2Ab Willing to learn about it
- 2Ac Not especially interested

2B In what ways are you interested in these areas of study?
- 2Ba As an individual or student
- 2Bb As a parent or spouse
- 2Bc As a language teacher
- 2Bd As a researcher or to publish
- 2Be. As a past or possible presenter

Some Possible Areas of Study

Adult bilingual development, e g sequential, not balanced (Adult)
Biculturalism/biculturality/acculturation/cultural identity (Biculturalism)
Bilingual child-raising methods, transmitting parents' L1 or L2 (Child-raising)
Bilingual education in schools overseas (Bil Ed abroad)
Bilingual or minority language education in schools in Japan (Schools here)
Bilingualism in applied linguistics/applied to FL/SL teaching (FL teaching)
Bilingualism programs in universities, graduate schools (Univ progs)
Bilingualism-related organizations/networks (Networks)
Biliteracy/minority language reading (Biliteracy)
Brain organization/neurolinguistics (Brain)
Childhood bilingual development, e g simultaneous, balanced (Childhood)
Family bilingualism/international families (Family)
Individual bilinguality/cognitive effects/psycholinguistics (Individual)
Intercultural communication (Intercultural)
Japanese-English/English-Japanese bilinguality and bilingualism (English-Jpse)
Language attrition/shift/loss (Attrition/loss)
Language processing/interference/code-switching/code-mixing (Processing)
Language pathologies, e g aphasia (Pathologies)
Language policy/planning/administration/history/politics (Policy)
Maintenance, e g , of returnees' L2, immigrants' or minorities' L1 (Maintenance)
Minority language educational materials, e.g picture books, videos (Materials)
Minority language home education, Saturday schools, play groups (Home Ed)
Multilingualism/combinations other than Japanese and English (Multilingual)
Second language acquisition/age-related factors, e.g critical period (SLA)
Societal bilingualism/sociolinguistics/dialects/diglossia/conflicts (Societal)
Theory/methodology/definitions/measurement, e g of bilinguality (Theory)
Translation/interpretation (Translation)
Other _____ (Other/gen'l [Bilingualism in general or sources thereof])

Respondents were asked to check one box for items 1A, 1B & 2A, and zero to five boxes for item 2B on the survey sheet. Zero was an option particularly for those who chose c (not especially interested) for item 2A. The formula used to rank the importance to members of the areas of study disregarded blank spaces as well as indecisive choices such as 1Ad and 1Bd or checks in between two boxes. Tho ranking of combined interest and relevance of the areas of study was then calculated simply by subtracting unequivocally negative choices from unequivocally positive ones. That is, the

27 areas of study were ranked in importance to members in Table 1 according to the following formula: (1Ba - 1Bc) + (2Aa - 2Ac) = **CR** (Combined Rating of Relevance & Interest). Ties were broken by giving a higher ranking to areas with a larger total **2B**, the sum of all the facets of interest enumerated in items 2Ba-2Be.

The results are tabulated in Table 1, with areas of study listed according to their Combined Rating of Relevance and Interest. To provide a perspective on how well or poorly the N-SIG has dealt with each of these areas to date, the results of the earlier study on N-SIG publications and presentations are also provided on the table. In parentheses next to each area of study ranked in the results is the number of times out of a total 205 this area was focused upon in BNSIG-sponsored publications or conference presentations since 1990, according to the "Citation Analysis of Bilingualism N-SIG Publications" (**CA** in the table of results). The three boldface abbreviations **CA**, **CR** and **2B** appear in Table 1 in addition to the totals for each survey item.

Differences of more than three between corresponding items in 1A and 1B are underlined, indicating that the topic is perceived to be considerably more relevant to discipline of bilingualism in general than it is to the N-SIG, or vice versa. The largest number in each item is italicized, indicating that informants are most in agreement on this point

Table 1: Bilingualism Survey Results

Areas of Study ranked according to CR, Combined Rating of Relevance and Interest

	(CA)	1Aa	1Ab	1Ac	1Ba	1Bb	1Bc	2Aa	2Ab	2Ac	CR	2Ba	2Bb	2Bc	2Bd	2Be	2B
Childhood	(12)	*36*	0	0	*36*	1	0	*32*	4	1	*67*	16	28	11	*17*	*9*	81
English-Jpse	(13)	29	6	0	35	0	0	30	4	0	65	*26*	24	19	11	7	87
Family	(8)	29	3	1	35	2	0	28	8	1	62	17	*32*	8	12	*9*	78
Biculturalism	(8)	30	4	0	30	5	0	29	5	1	58	23	25	19	*17*	8	*92*
Childraising	*(45)*	32	5	0	31	5	0	28	4	3	56	15	29	7	9	*9*	69
Processing	(2)	32	3	1	29	7	0	27	8	2	54	20	21	20	14	5	80
Schools here	(5)	30	6	1	30	5	0	24	10	3	51	9	19	17	12	3	60
Biliteracy	(20)	29	6	1	30	5	1	21	12	2	48	12	27	16	12	8	75
Networks	(2)	22	13	0	28	7	0	21	12	3	46	18	20	12	7	2	59
Home Ed	(3)	22	9	2	26	10	0	22	10	4	44	10	26	10	9	6	61
SLA	(0)	28	3	4	24	9	2	23	10	2	43	12	13	16	12	4	57
Individual	(3)	30	3	2	25	7	1	20	13	3	41	18	11	15	12	5	61
Attrition/loss	(1)	26	7	3	22	11	2	21	13	2	39	21	20	18	10	6	75
Theory	(6)	32	2	1	28	7	0	15	15	5	38	17	8	15	13	2	55
Materials	(12)	18	13	3	21	15	0	20	12	4	37	11	23	12	4	4	54
Maintenance	(12)	25	9	3	25	12	0	17	16	5	37	10	12	18	6	5	51
Adult	(0)	30	2	2	23	9	2	13	20	3	31	23	8	20	7	2	60
Intercultural	(10)	19	5	10	21	9	7	19	13	4	29	21	22	*22*	11	7	83
FL teaching	(1)	24	6	3	21	9	4	13	18	4	26	8	6	19	5	2	40
Societal	(6)	26	6	3	18	13	4	17	12	6	25	16	10	16	14	4	60
Multilingual	(10)	29	6	1	20	12	2	9	16	10	17	15	8	12	11	3	49
BI Ed abroad	(2)	23	*14*	1	15	11	7	10	18	7	11	9	15	14	5	1	44
Brain	(2)	11	9	10	9	19	5	13	12	10	7	14	9	14	9	3	49
Univ progs	(5)	18	13	2	11	16	5	7	22	8	5	10	3	15	5	0	33
Policy	(7)	19	11	5	12	17	4	7	17	12	3	11	6	15	6	2	40
Translation	(0)	7	13	15	6	11	16	10	12	11	9	22	6	11	3	1	43
Pathologies	(0)	3	10	*21*	2	16	13	5	15	14	-19	10	3	7	7	2	29
Other/gen'l	(10)																
Totals		*659*	188	95	613	[illegible]			331	131		414	434	398	260	119	1625

Discussion of the Results

Before detailing each area of study according to its Combined Rating of Interest and Relevance (CR), let us look at the results overall. First, in considering the questions calling for objective knowledge of bilingualism, what do the results indicate about the informants themselves in terms of expertise and hence reliability? With five facets of interest (2Ba-e) distinguished for each of the 27 categories suggested, the total number of boxes that could be checked for item 2B in the survey was 27 x 5 = 135. The total facets of interest indicated must then total between zero and 38 x 135 or 5,130. Informants actually checked 1,625 boxes in total for item 2B, indicating an average of 42.8 facets of interest per respondent. That is, informants checked 31.7% of all the possible boxes in item 2B. The informants thus showed a remarkable extent of multifaceted interest in the topics hypothesized.

The total of item 2Bd (interest as a researcher or to publish), in particular, was 260 out of a possible 1,026, or an average of 6.84 areas of research per respondent. By another measure, 25 out of 38 respondents showed interest in researching bilingualism. Item 2Be elicited interest in the areas of study as a past or possible presenter, and 20, or over half, of the respondents indicated a total of 119 areas on which they could give a presentation. Furthermore, there were respondents who would consider presenting on all but one of the 27 areas suggested. Moreover, we know that these results do not indicate the full potential of the N-SIG to provide speakers capable of presenting on bilingualism, since a number of past presenters were not included or shied away from indicating their ability to present. There must also be others who are researching areas of bilingualism but did not receive a survey. They have been encouraged to request a survey sheet from the Bilingualism N-SIG Chair for follow-up studies and to help complete a data base of potential speakers nationwide.

Continuing with the overall results, we can gauge the extent to which items were left blank, undecided or not known by looking at the totals for items 1A, 1B and 2A, then subtracting the mean number of responses from the total number of respondents for each item. Placing topics within the purview of our N-SIG (item 1B) might seem more difficult than relating them to the discipline of bilingualism (item 1A), but the total for 1B was only four fewer. The depth of interest (item 2A) predictably had the fewest blanks, with a mean of nearly 35 responses out of 38 respondents. In contrast, the mean was nearly 34 for item 1A and nearly 33 for item 1B, perhaps the most difficult to decide. The informants as a whole thus gave unambiguous responses to over 90% of these three items.

One might expect the perceived scope of the Bilingualism N-SIG (a special interest group of an association of language teachers) in Japan (as indicated by item 1B), to be narrower than the members' view of the whole discipline of bilingualism (item 1A), but how much so? Again, taking only unequivocal responses into account, we see that (1Aa - 1Ac) - (1Ba - 1Bc) = 24, a small difference compared to the total of 38 respondents. Although many more items were considered minor or peripheral to our N-SIG (250 for item 1Bb vs. 188 for item 1Ab), according to the above equation the perceived scope of the JALT Bilingualism N-SIG touches upon 95.4% of the discipline as a whole.

We might ask, though, how (and why) does bilingualism differ in Japan? Most of the literature on bilingualism, which could not be reviewed in this space, tends to emanate from Europe, Canada and the U.S. Many of these countries have dealt with multilingualism and multiculturalism in their societies for decades if not longer, and there is also the whole infrastructure of bilingual education in such places to spark controversy as well as research. Among the countries not included in the above image of bilingualism, Japan is relatively large and the most wealthy. Although its monocultural reputation is founded more on ideology than fact, pluralism in Japan still does involve a relatively tiny minority. Such observations allow us to distinguish between bilingualism in Japan and elsewhere in general terms, while noting that Japan shares some characteristics with countries where English and other non-native tongues are generally learned as a foreign rather than as a second language or via bilingual education.

Now let's compare these general observations with the data from the survey, examining the items underlined in the table to indicate where the situation in Japan (or at least the N-SIG) is seen as different from abroad. Near the top with CR = 65, Japanese and English are clearly of more interest in Japan, while multilingualism (CR = 17) is viewed as more relevant abroad. Also, bilingual education abroad (CR = 11) was not of great interest to the respondents. Family bilingualism, networks, home education and materials are perceived as more important to N-SIG members, presumably because of the foreign language environment. Theory, SLA, university programs, individual and adult bilingualism are seen to be of moderate interest, but less to the N-SIG than to the field in general. Combined with the higher rating for children's concerns, these results could be seen to indicate that for the N-SIG, the imperative is more practical than academic.

If there is significance in the figures for language attrition/loss, it was seen as more relevant in general terms, even though members showed a multifaceted interest in it (2B = 75). Since there are relatively few immigrants in Japan to be threatened by subtractive bilingualism (L2 replacing L1), the respondents may tend to perceive the situation here to be not folk but elite bilingualism, with additive

phenomena such as cognitive benefits within reach.

Societal bilingualism and language policy were also perceived as more important to the field generally than to the N-SIG, perhaps indicating a reluctance to fight city hall in a country like Japan, with enough intercultural negotiations on the home front. For the foreigners in our membership, there is a delicate balance to be sought between assimilation and cultural imperialism.

Brain organization and pathologies had quite differing results, though the fields could perhaps be more profitably combined. These results could therefore be considered inconclusive After going through each area of study as ranked, there will be some categories to review, combine or discard from our purview.

Next, we need to ask what the highest figures in each grouping tell us, besides that the respondents are of a consensus. Among the facets of interest (2Ba-e), the number of members expressing interest in bilingualism as a parent or spouse (2Bb) was the highest, followed closely by 2Ba (as an individual or student) and then 2Bc (as a language teacher), but the totals in all categories could be considered remarkably high. As an individual or student, members were most interested in English and Japanese, reflecting the commitment of these informants to function in the two most important languages in their professional and personal environment. They may aim to set an example for their students or children by becoming bilingual themselves As a parent or spouse, 32 out of 38 respondents expressed interest in family bilingualism/international families, probably indicating that most are married to someone with a different native language and strive for both languages to be valorized. As language teachers, members were most interested in intercultural communication, quite an interesting finding. As a researcher or to publish, members showed equal interest in biculturalism and childhood bilingual development The deep and multifaceted interest in biculturalism, as well as in intercultural communication, shows that the informants see the cultural concomitants of bilingualism as indispensable to—and inseparable from--the linguistic aspects In expressing interest as a past or possible presenter, nine members selected the areas of bilingual child-raising, family bilingualism and childhood bilingual development, while there were eight for both biliteracy and biculturalism, and seven for intercultural communication as well as English and Japanese. These findings give a profile of the expertise of the N-SIG members responding

Now, I would like to discuss each area of study as ranked in the table of results according to combined rating of interest and relevance (CR) In effect, number 1 is most collectively important and number 27 is of least concern to the informants as a whole. Following the number indicating the topic's relative importance, a number is shown in parentheses indicating the priority the N-SIG has given the topic thus far in terms of number of presentations and articles about it. This priority ranking (1 to 23) was given on the basis of the number of entries found in the Citation Analysis, with (X) shown for the four categories for which there were no entries In this way we can compare the relative interest and relevance of each topic with the relative amount of attention it has received thus far in our publications and conference presentations. The combined interest and relevance levels go down very gradually, so there are neither clear groupings nor a significant difference to be claimed for adjacent items. Most areas of study as formulated earn a more or less positive rating, but relative priorities can be discerned in the range of CR scores from plus 67 to minus 19

1 (4). Childhood bilingual development This categorization may be most highly rated because of its breadth, or because it represents a perspective by which members would most like the N-SIG to be oriented. The examples given of simultaneous or balanced bilingual acquisition could be seen as ideals to aim for, not without difficulties Interest was multifaceted, as shown by items 2Ba-e, but highest as a parent or spouse Considering its overlap with several other categories rated highly, this topic has not lacked attention in our publications Compared to the much less positive rating for adult concerns, however, childhood bilingual development may now be seen as providing a conceptual framework central to the mission of this N-SIG.

2 (3). Japanese-English/English-Japanese bilinguality and bilingualism. This category could be seen as including adults as well as children, and academic as well as practical concerns with these two languages While in the Citation Analysis it was difficult to quantify this category, the Bilingualism Survey shows that the N-SIG would do well to explicitly focus on English and Japanese while also welcoming the study of other language combinations. Interest is deep and multifaceted, particularly in the three capacities of individual or student, parent or spouse, and language teacher, for a total of 87 facets of interest indicated Only this item had no responses placing it at the periphery of the bilingualism discipline or of this N-SIG; it was unanimously considered central or integral to our scope

3 (10). Family bilingualism/international families This category has much overlap with other categories, so its coverage in our publications is difficult to quantify. Perceived relevance to bilingualism and the N-SIG is higher than members' interest, and it is chiefly as a parent or spouse where this topic scores highest. Intermarriage, though not in every respect, could be researched under this category More salient to the work of this N-SIG is the interaction between persons whose native

languages are different Though most but not all respondents to this survey have married across cultures, it should be noted that all these topics are objects of study regardless of the marital status of members. The N-SIG wishes to welcome everyone interested in this area of applied linguistics regardless of their personal situation.

4 (10). Biculturalism/biculturality/acculturation/cultural identity. While the Citation Analysis was inconclusive, the Bilingualism Survey results place the cultural concomitants of bilingualism firmly within our purview. Interest is deep and multifaceted, with the highest overall number of facets of interest indicated (92), including many willing to research or present on this challenging area. Our N-SIG can unreservedly identify with biculturalism along with bilingualism and develop this dual focus.

5 (1). Bilingual child-raising methods, transmitting parents' L1 or L2. This area was overwhelmingly first in BNSIG written publications, while it is not far from the top in interest and relevance. Its scores resemble those of item 3 above on families, but not everyone is presently involved with child-raising. This topic was second to biliteracy in the number of conference presentations sponsored by the BNSIG since 1990, and here it is tied for the largest number of possible presenters among the informants.

6 (19). Language processing/interference/code-switching/code-mixing. Although there is some overlap with other categories, we could say that the area has been relatively neglected in our publications, as members show wide interest in it. Research findings on how and why language mixing occurs could help dispel the common misconception that children should be spared the confusion of learning more than one language at once, or that codeswitching is a result of deficiencies in language skills.

7 (15). Bilingual or minority language education in schools in Japan One informant suggested adding another topic to our list: the education of language minority students in Japanese schools. As the informant pointed out, this category as it stands doesn't seem to include situations where minority language children go to ordinary schools and don't get any bilingual or minority language education. So I'd like to broaden this topic, changing it to "Schools in Japan" so it could include such topics as immersion, international schools, language minority students in mainstream Japanese schools, and the school system in Japan. Ordinary situations pressuring kids to be monolingual could also be researched. Even as presented, however, this topic scored highly in relevance, and was of particular interest to members as parents and as language teachers. Seeing that it ranked 15th in the citation analysis, we learn that this is another topic we should accord more attention in our future publications.

8 (2). Biliteracy/minority language reading. In the Citation Analysis this area was first in conference presentations and second in written publications. Here it is of much interest to members as parents, and is seen as relevant to bilingualism, but the general interest level is not so high. Perhaps its score is limited because it is just one skill, but it should be noted that literacy is known to reinforce language acquisition and maintenance, so research in this area is important. Moreover, there is no problem of any topic being overrepresented in BNSIG publications. Thus, biliteracy will remain an area of relevance and interest

9 (19). Bilingualism-related organizations/networks. This is not an area within the study of bilingualism *per se*, but members living in Japan do find networks of relevance and considerable interest. The N-SIG itself is a network for information exchange and mutual supportiveness, but there could be more explicit attention to this area in our publications

10 (17). Minority language home education, Saturday schools, play groups. As with school education in Japan, home education has not received attention in our publications in proportion to its perceived importance. Members find this area of high relevance to the N-SIG and of fairly high interest, although mainly in their role as parents.

11 (X). Second language acquisition/age-related factors This area has not been addressed in our publications, yet members find it integral to bilingualism. Seeing the Citation Analysis results, with no entries in this area, and considering that the informants are language teachers, it is fair to say that a closer look is needed into how second language acquisition research (SLAR) relates to bilingualism. SLA might be viewed as an area of research whose findings inform both classroom language teaching and the broader development of bilingualism.

12 (17). Individual bilinguality/cognitive effects/psycholinguistics Individual bilinguality includes children, but concerns specifically for the latter were rated more highly. This area was considered highly relevant but not so deeply of interest, perhaps because the category as presented was complex and specialized. To the individual level of bilingualism, recognized as distinct from the societal, has been added a representative issue and a methodological approach suitable to this psychological area The purpose of this combination was to distinguish the category from several others with which it would overlap Psycholinguistics is not subsumed under bilingualism but serves as an auxiliary discipline to it at the individual level

13 (23) Language attrition/shift/loss Language attrition and loss have not been neglected in our publications, but tend to be seen as the downside of areas such as maintenance, particularly for

returnees (*kikoku shijo*). In that sense more explicit attention to this area might be in order. Interest is moderately high and multifaceted. The cognitive effects of language attrition and loss should also be considered. Language shift in individuals immigrating to Japan in early childhood without a valorized L1 and changing to Japanese would raise the specter of subtractive folk bilingualism in a country where additive elite bilingualism is seen as the norm. Both the upside and the downside of bilingualism need more research.

14 (13). Theory/methodology/definitions/measurement. High relevance was recognized, but considerable disinterest was also shown. The practical applications of bilingualism are evidently an imperative, as more academic concerns such as these score in the lower half of the 27 areas of study suggested. N-SIG Publications Chair Stephen Ryan has noted in private correspondence that there is a distinction between a research group and a research-based group such as our N-SIG. Thus members can network and learn about all these areas of bilingualism without being obliged to engage in such research.

15 (4). Minority language educational materials In this foreign as opposed to second language environment, L2 materials such as videos and picture books cannot receive too much attention in our publications. Here the moderately high interest and relevance indicated by respondents was chiefly in their role as parents.

16 (4). Maintenance, e.g. of returnees' L2, immigrants' or minorities' L1. Here the interest was moderate and more as language teachers than any other facet. Although the Citation Analysis findings show this area tied for fourth place, the limited interest expressed by members may be a result of the fact that most attention has been given to returnees, with whom many informants do not have direct experience. It could be noted that, like the Hindu trinity of creator, preserver and destroyer, acquisition, maintenance and attrition are the ubiquitous trinity facing language teachers and researchers.

17 (X). Adult bilingual development This area is acknowledged by members to be part of the field, but it seems to lack the imperative, compared to concerns for children, to surface in our public agenda or publications. Or, because of overlap with other categories here, it may simply have been eclipsed by specific targets such as EFL or JSL

18 (7). Intercultural communication In our newsletter there has been criticism of the intercultural training school of thought which developed out of the intercultural communication discipline amid the explosive growth of cross-cultural commerce There was thus some question whether or not this area was within our purview as an N-SIG, but this and biculturalism were two of the top three in total facets of interest indicated Without attempting to swallow the area whole, as it were, we can draw from intercultural communication as an auxiliary discipline to develop our knowledge of culture and communication as they relate to bilingualism and language teaching in Japan.

19 (23). Bilingualism in applied linguistics/applied to FL/SL teaching. The respondents' acknowledge this connection, but it does not yet appear to move them. It is rather on the frontier and may seem theoretical until it is experienced. When we develop a better knowledge of bilingualism, the role of applied linguistics as an auxiliary discipline to language teaching may become clearer and lead to practical applications.

20 (13). Societal bilingualism/sociolinguistics. Beyond the family level, members' concern seems to become less acute and more cautious Sociolinguistics is another branch of applied linguistics, but which lends methodologies of the social sciences to bilingualism It can serve as an auxiliary discipline to discern the social context of bilingual concerns and possibly to help navigate the way of bilinguals in society. Therefore it may be better for the N-SIG not to shy away from social issues but to bring academic rigor to bear on them.

21 (7). Multilingualism/combinations other than Japanese and English As the Citation Analysis also indicates, the N-SIG welcomes the treatment of other language combinations while giving the most attention to English and Japanese Publications and presentations can be about other languages but need to be anchored in English and/or Japanese, since most N-SIG members are involved with English professionally, while Japanese is the sole official language of this country

22 (19). Bilingual education in schools overseas Members realize that we have to sift through much recorded experience overseas to find how bilingual education could be applied to Japan, such as through immersion programs. Members may therefore prefer to try and design our own future, as it were, here in Japan.

23 (19). Brain organization/neurolinguistics The relation of this new area to bilingualism met with anything but a consensus, and some reformulation may be needed A comment from one informant leads to combining this category with the 27th and last: Language pathologies such as aphasia. Their combined rating might then be more positive, i.e that this constitutes a border region of bilingualism to match its pioneer status It may be helpful to see neurolinguistics functioning as an auxiliary discipline to bilingualism here, even while it is a branch of applied linguistics and a discipline in its own right.

24 (15). Bilingualism programs in universities, graduate schools. This area might be considered academic in the pedantic sense, but many parameters can be set more reliably by the community of scholars than otherwise. The most attention and funding has accrued to bilingual education, but courses do exist on bilingualism *per se*, with textbooks representative of the discipline. This was the only area that did not elicit a potential presenter, and specifics about such programs have not yet appeared in our publications—all the more reason to call for such information.

25 (12). Language policy/planning/administration/history/politics. These topics are acknowledged as part of the discipline but do not engage many members actively. Again this may manifest a reluctance to delve into social issues. As an alternative formulation, regardless of social activism, these topics might combine with Societal bilingualism to form a stronger category and be seen more clearly as objects of research.

26 (X). Translation/interpretation. The combined rating of this area was negative, yet a majority found it at least peripheral to bilingualism. The nature of this work is clearly akin to bilingualism. But translators and interpreters have their own professional organizations and specialized literature. This area can thus be seen as an auxiliary discipline to bilingualism. Its methods could bolster our concerns in Japan–for example the reliability of cross-cultural investigations with similar numbers of English and Japanese native speakers–by strengthening the intercommunicability between English and Japanese.

27 (X). Language pathologies. We have seen that this category cannot stand on its own in a taxonomy of bilingualism, but it could be combined with Brain organization/neurolinguistics, where it would find a link to medical science. At the same time, the growing body of scientific findings in this area could enhance our understanding of bilingualism.

28 (7). Other. If any category emerged in addition to the 27, it was bilingualism as a whole. The Citation Analysis revealed many reviews of books introducing bilingualism or wide areas thereof. In compiling a data base of speakers, this general category might be added, as we know of several speakers not included in the above results who have given conference presentations introducing bilingualism and this N-SIG.

Conclusion

27 areas of study were hypothesized as related to bilingualism, and thanks to the input of 38 Bilingualism N-SIG members their relations are now much clearer. According to the results and by combining categories as indicated above, every area of study suggested could be seen as related to bilingualism in some way. Disciplines not subsumed under bilingualism turned out to function as auxiliary disciplines to it, lending their research findings and methodologies, and sometimes this relationship was mutual, as in the case of bilingualism and language teaching.

To reiterate the combinations and other adjustments of the categories along with the relations among disciplines would take too much space here, but the pieces can be put together to form a taxonomy of bilingualism clearer than what was hypothesized. A revised classification will be submitted to a Bilingualism N-SIG publication in the future. The clarification of what constitutes bilingualism in general and for Japan continues as the circle of our network widens.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Parents' and Teachers' Guide to Bilingualism. **Colin Baker. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1995. 240 pages.**

The title says it all. This is a guide for parents and teachers who have little theoretical knowledge of bilingualism but find themselves having to take practical decisions about children's bilingual development. Cast in question-and-answer form, the book deals comprehensively and comprehensibly with the issues involved.

It is not, as the author points out, an academic book. Instead it presents the fruits of the latest academic research in the field in a form which is accessible to an interested lay-person. Baker does not hesitate to offer advice, but he is always careful to explain the theoretical underpinnings of any suggestions made. For a more academic treatment of similar ground, readers are referred to the same author's *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (also from Multilingual Matters, 1993).

The 117 questions and answers that make up the book are divided into six sections: Family Questions, Language Development Questions, Questions about Problems, Reading and Writing Questions, Education Questions and Concluding Questions (mainly about where to find further information about bilingualism). The divisions are not rigid and often the same information is repeated in several sections in answer to different questions. For the reader who works straight through the book, this has the effect of reinforcing the various messages, but it also means that the answer to each question is self-contained, so the book can be dipped into when a particular issue arises.

The tone throughout is extremely supportive of bilingualism, as the author demolishes time after time arguments that are often heard against a bilingual up-bringing. Baker's attitude, though, is not dogmatic: he shows that his advice is the result of careful consideration of the latest research and of the "human factors" involved. He also explains the kind of situation (extremely rare) in which he would be prepared to drop his arguments and agree that bilingualism may not be advisable for a particular child.

He assumes that readers of the book will have no previous reliable information about the issues and deals, point by point, with the unreliable information they may have received from friends, neighbours and the majority of doctors, teachers and even speech-therapists who have had no training in dealing with bilingualism. A glorious passage from the second chapter will serve to illustrate his approach:

> Children are born ready to become bilinguals and multilinguals. Too many are restricted to becoming monolinguals. Children are born with the equipment to run and play, to laugh and learn. No caring parent or teacher denies children the chance to develop physically, socially, educationally or emotionally. Yet we deny many children the right to develop bilingually and multilingually. (p. 35)

The great difficulty to be overcome in writing such a book is that of audience: bilingualism is a phenomenon which occurs in so many different situations throughout the world that it is difficult to address people in each of these situations at the same time. To a large extent Baker succeeds in dealing with this problem. From the beginning, he makes clear distinctions between minority and majority languages, between mixed language and in-migrant families, between transitional and additive bilingual education. When comments refer only to particular situations, he is careful to state whom he is addressing at each point.

Where this approach fails, I feel, is in dealing with the parent/teacher divide. For most of the book he assumes that teachers, like parents, will benefit from an explanation of the fundamental concepts of the field and their practical applications. In the chapter about the differing forms of bilingual education, however, he often gives detailed explanations of classroom procedures and school-management operations which go beyond what a parent would need to know to make informed decisions about schooling, but do not, of course, constitute a full training course for teachers.

A further point about audience and scope has to do with geographical coverage. Nearly all the examples used come from Europe and North America. The section on reading and writing, in particular, suffers from a failure to grasp the problems involved in becoming biliterate in languages with very different scripts and sound-symbol correspondences. The omission is understandable, given the focus of bilingualism research to date, but it does serve to highlight the importance of the task our N-Sig has undertaken in seeking to put bilingualism in Japan on the map.

This is a great book for anybody approaching bilingualism for the first time. I recommend it wholeheartedly to any parent or prospective parent concerned about the implications of language decisions they make for their children. Once you have read it, you will want others around you to read it, too. What higher recommendation can I give?

Reviewed by Stephen M. Ryan, Osaka Institute of Technology

Multilingual Japan. **Edited by John C. Maher and Kyoko Yashiro. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1995. 164 pages.**

By presenting a wide range of research on a number of bilingual groups in Japan, this collection of papers fills an important gap in the world literature on bilingualism, which to date has dealt mostly with European languages and rarely with Japanese or Japan. It also effectively refutes the widely held image most prominently ennunciated by former Prime Minister Nakasone in 1986: that the people of Japan are a homogeneous group and there are no minorities in this country. In their introduction, editors John Maher and Yashiro Kyoko go back to some of the earliest Western reports about the country to show that linguistic diversity has a long history in these isles. They then explain the historical social, academic and ideological factors that combined to produce a climate in which the "invented tradition" of harmony prevailed and linguistic pluralism came to be viewed as a threat. While noting a paucity of research on Japanese bilingualism, Maher and Yashiro provide an overview of research that has been done in this field to date.

In "Ryukyuan Past, Present and Future", Matsumori Akiko presents a thorough analysis of the languages used in the Ryukyus--the chain of islands that make up Okinawa Prefecture. Matsumori begins by explaining that Ryukyuan is actually a group of languages--all unintelligible to each other as well as to standard Japanese--that, "for political rather than purely linguistic reasons" are generally referred to as the Okinawan dialect (*Okinawa-ben*). She provides a brief history of the Ryukyus, then moves into an in-depth analysis of the linguistic relationship between these languages and mainland Japanese before touching on some of the differences between the languages used on different islands. She explains the pressures that have led to a rapid decline in the use of these languages, details present patterns of their use, and finally, suggests steps that might lead to their preservation. As with all of the papers in this collection, Matsumori provides an extensive reference list, though most of the works cited here and later in the book are in Japanese.

In "English In Japanese Society Language Within Language", Honna Nobuyuki focuses on the conspicuous use of English loan words in Japanese, explaining the structural and semantic nature of this borrowing, the function of the words--especially as euphemisms, and the social factors that have contributed to their rampant use. In particular, he cites the restrictions on use of *kanji* (Chinese characters) after the war and the compulsory English language education program, with its non-communicative approach, as the two main factors behind this massive influx of foreign words.

"Bilingualism in International Families" by Yamamoto Masayo brings together the results of several surveys familiar to long-term members of this N-SIG. It explains general attitudes towards bilingualism in Japan, the attitudes of parents in international families, and patterns of language use that can promote bilingualism.

The history and linguistic situation of Koreans living in Japan are detailed in "On Being There: Koreans in Japan" by John Maher and Kawanishi Yumiko. The educational opportunities and options of resident Koreans, as well as discrimination problems and differences in attitudes between older and younger generations are detailed. The article concludes by examining recent legal and social developments that hold promise for a brighter future for this minority.

Joseph DeChicchis presents a very thoughtful and thought-provoking analysis in "The Current State of the Ainu Language". Artfully defining terms and concepts at every step, he explains why, while "there is no present-day Ainu speech community, it would be misleading to say that Ainu is a dead language" (p. 109). In doing so, he presents a lively account of the struggle to regain Ainu rights and preserve the language.

In "The *Kakyo* Chinese in Japan", John Maher weaves together a wealth of information on the many different ways in which the Chinese language is present in Japan, from the use of its terminology in the field of medicine and its writing system in one form of classical Japanese writing (*kanbun*), to the use of spoken Cantonese in established Chinatowns and Mandarin in enclaves of such new immigrants as foreign students, workers and the so-called "war orphans".

Finally, in "Japan's Returnees", Yashiro Kyoko covers not only school-age returnees, but also adult Japanese who have lived overseas, focussing on the linguistic as well as cultural issues they face, and carefully explaining the gradual improvement in their treatment in this country.

Together these eight papers, which originally appeared as a double issue of the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Vol. 16, 1&2, 1995) but were also issued as a hardback book, present a wealth of information on linguistic diversity in this country while also offering extensive reference lists and suggestions for further research. My one quibble is that the book seems to have been put together in a hurry: lapses in grammar and syntax abound, a number of awkward repetitions appear and some of the papers could have done with a tighter, more logical organization. Many Japanese terms are not defined in English and while they are printed in italics in some papers, they appear in standard print in others. Also, some works cited in papers do not appear in the lists of references. That said, let me emphasize that this is an important work that will be of great interest both here and abroad.

Reviewed by Mary Goebel Noguchi, Ritsumeikan University

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

The *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* is currently published once annually. Subscriptions are available for one year at the following rates:

Members of the JALT BN-SIG	¥1,200
JALT Members who are not BN-SIG Members	¥1,400
Individuals Overseas	¥1,600 or $16.00
Institutions in Japan	¥5,000
Institutions Overseas	¥5,000 or $50.00

Payments within Japan should be made by Postal Money Transfer (*Yubin Furikae*) to:

Account No. (*Koza bango*) 口座番号: 01000-6-14369

Name (*Meisho*) 名称: バイリンガル・ジャーナル

Payments from overseas subscribers must be made by international postal money order made out to Bilingual Journal, Daihyosha Mary Noguchi, and sent to: Mary Goebel Noguchi, 56-19 Yamashina Kusauchi, Tanabe-cho, Tsuzuki-gun, Kyoto Prefecture 610-03, Japan.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* welcomes well-written research reports in English or Japanese concerned with bi/multilingualism, bi/multiculturalism, intercultural communication and other related fields of study. Papers must not have been previously published or under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Style

The *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* uses the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. Consult this issue or recent issues of the *JALT Journal* for examples of documentation and references.

Format

Feature articles should be no more than 5,000 words, typed and double spaced on A4 paper. The author's name and references that identify the author should appear only on the cover sheet.

Materials to be Submitted

Three copies of the manuscript should be included with a cover letter at the time of submission. Once articles are accepted, authors will be asked to provide a short abstract of the article in Japanese and a Macintosh text format disk if possible.

Evaluation Procedures

Manuscripts complying with the above guidelines will be subject to blind review by at least two readers, with special attention given to BN-SIG aims, the significance and originality of submission, and the use of appropriate research design and methodology. The evaluation process is generally completed within three months.

Address

Address manuscripts and inquiries to: Mary Goebel Noguchi, 56-19 Yamashina Kusauchi, Tanabe-cho, Tsuzuki-gun, Kyoto Prefecture 610-03, Japan.

日本語論文投稿要領

『多言語・多文化研究』は、バイリンガリズム、異文化コミュニケーションなどについての日本語論文の投稿を受け付けます。しかし、投稿する原稿は、すでに出版されているものや他の学術雑誌などに投稿中のものは避けてください。

文体は一般的な学術論文のスタイルを使ってください。章だてのしかたや参考文献の書き方などは、*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (3rd. ed.)の定める方式にできるだけ近い形にしてください。ご不明の場合は、*JALT Journal* の英語論文を参考にしてください。

原稿は、A4の用紙にワープロで横書きに打ってください。長さは、1行40字、1ページ30行で10枚以内です。手書きの原稿は受け付けられません。

投稿のしかたは、まず始めに、原稿3部を送ってください。原稿には執筆者の名前や連絡先を入れずに、別紙に書いて原稿とともに送ってください。審査過程を経てから、英文のタイトルと、500－750語の英文要旨と、できれば、マッキントッシュのテキスト形式で保存したディスクを提出していただきます。

審査の方法は、投稿要領にあっていることを確認の上、原則として二人の審査員が審査を行います。審査員には、執筆者の名前は知らされません。審査の過程では特に、バイリンガリズム研究部会の目的にかなっているか、意義また独創性があるか、研究計画と方法論が適切かが評価されます。審査には通常3ヶ月を要します。

投稿原稿の送り先とお問い合わせは以下にお願いします。

〒610　03京都府綴喜郡田辺町草内山科56　19野口メアリ・ゲイブル

JAPAN JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM　VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1
多言語・多文化研究　1巻1号
1995年10月27日印刷
1995年11月3日発行

編集人　野口メアリ・ゲイブル
発行所　全国語学教育学会バイリンガリズム研究部会
〒610－03京都府綴喜郡田辺町草内山科56　19
電話．(0774) 63　6007

印刷所　恵見堂印刷株式会社
〒612 京都市伏見区深草19軒543

JALT National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism –
Original Statement of Purpose

The modern Japanese situation holds unique challenges and opportunities for the study of bilingualism. Linguistically, Japanese, because of extensive historical borrowing, shares some surface features with Korean, Chinese and even modern European languages, but it appears to have no clearly traceable linguistic ties to any other major language. Sociologically, it can be argued that, as the most industrialized of the Asian nations, postwar Japan has had an extraordinarily high degree of economic and cultural exchange with the Western nations, but that its adopted Western artifacts are only thinly overlaid on zealously protected traditional culture. Psychologically, local bilingual and bicultural speakers of Japanese and another language live in an environment with unique pressures and potentials. In view of these rich areas for research and of Japan's rising political and economic importance, disappointingly few studies of bilingualism have emanated from Japan to date.

One of the purposes of the National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism is to address the need for high quality research in this uniquely exciting venue. As JALT members and their families comprise a significant portion of the bilinguals available for convenient study, this National Special Interest Group should help to identify an extremely valuable pool of researchers and bilingual subjects willing and able to help each other conduct significant studies, not only in the linguistic arena, but also on the many social and psychological ramifications of bilingualism in this particular society. As educators, JALT members are ultimately dedicated to developing fully-functioning bilinguals. As bilinguals themselves, as the parents or spouses of bilinguals, however, JALT members at the same time recognize that these individuals, minors in particular, are often in need of social and psychological support. A second purpose of the National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism, then, is to provide that support, in the form of disseminating research findings among this network of individuals sharing common pressures, and providing timely information on alternatives and responses to common problems affecting bilinguals in Japan, such as multicultural education, peer acceptance, and legal status.

Accordingly, this Special Interest Group proposes to (1) encourage bilingualism research projects and the wide dissemination of findings by organizing an extensive network of researchers and willing bilingual subjects, (2) promote awareness of current developments of interest to these overlapping communities, and (3) provide a base for mutual support among the group's members.

N-SIG Decision-Making Team

Chair Publications Director
Steve McCarty

Publications Director
Stephen M. Ryan

Treasurer/Membership Secretary
Gail Okuma

Colloquium Coordinator
Mary Goebel Noguchi

多言語多文化研究

2巻1号
1996年11月
全国語学教育学会
バイリンガリズム研究部会

JAPAN JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1
NOVEMBER 1996
JAPAN ASSOCIATION FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING
BILINGUALISM N-SIG

JAPAN JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1

NOVEMBER 1996

A publication of the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching

CONTENTS

The N-SIG would like to express its appreciation to the following founding sponsors, without whose aid the Journal could not have been launched:

William Belew
Michael Bostwick
Eileen Christianson
Sandra S. Fotos
Peter Gray
Stephen D. Hattingh
Laurel Kamada
Steve McCarty
Mary Goebel Noguchi
Gail Okuma
Martin Pauly
David Pite
Stephen M. Ryan
Simon Sanada
Craig Smith
Randall Terhune
Sharon Vaipae
Yamamoto Masayo
Kathleen Yamane
Bonnie Yoneda

Printed in Japan by Shinkodo Insatsu, 543 Nokimachi, Fukakusa, Fushimi-ku, Kyoto 612
〒612 京都市伏見区深草19軒町543 進晃堂印刷株式会社

Codeswitching as a Strategy in the Process of Second Language Writing

A Preliminary Investigation

Hara Yuko

Research Student, The Centre for English Language Teacher Education
University of Warwick, U.K.
Home Address: 2-45-2-403 Bessho, Hachioji, Tokyo 192-03
email: MY5Y-HR@j.asahi-net.or.jp

This is a preliminary study on the use of codeswitching between the L1 and L2 as a strategy in the process of second language writing by L2 learners. Think-aloud protocols were recorded as 5 Japanese university graduate and undergraduate students in an ESL program in the U.K. were writing compositions in English. The protocols were then examined for intra-segmental codeswitching and the switches categorized into three main types: sequenced constituents, embedded lexemes, and translations. Each of the types was further divided into subtypes according to language use. The compositions produced were then assessed for quality. This data was analyzed quantitatively to determine the relationship between the types of switches and the quality of the writing produced. The sequenced-constituent type of codeswitching was found to have a relatively close relationship to text quality, while the most frequently employed type of switch--embedded lexemes--showed no such relationship to text quality. Qualitative analysis based on retrospective interviews with the subjects was also conducted to explore the functions of codeswitching in the writing process. Each type of switch appeared to fulfill distinct functions in the L2 composition process. While further research is needed, the results appear to support other studies indicating that the L1 has a strategic place in the second language classroom.

<第二言語による作文過程におけるストラテジーとしての言語コードの切り換え>

この論文では、第二言語（外国語）として英語を使う学習者が英語で作文をする際にその作業過程においてどのように日英の言語コードの切り換えを行いそれをどのようにストラテジーとして活用しているかの予備的な考察を報告している。この考察のために、作文中の思考過程を被験者（英国留学中の日本人大学生３人、大学院生２人の計５人）に発話してもらい、プロトコールデータを採取した。各プロトコールを一定の基準によって分節化した後、その分節内でのコードの切り換え方によって分節を並列、組み込み、翻訳型の３つに分類し、さらに各分類中での日英の関係によって２つに下位分類した。この分類方法に基づいて、量的な分析と質的な分析を試みた。量的な分析においては、各タイプの頻度と作文評価の相関関係を回帰分析によって観察した。その結果、日英間の切り換えを並列的に行うタイプ、つまり、一つの内容を英語と日本語の構造を並列する形で発話しているタイプに関して有意義な結果が得られた一方、最も頻繁に発現した英語の単語や語句が英語の構造から隔離された形で日本語の構造に組み込まれているタイプでは、有意義な結果が得られなかった。こうしたタイプ間の効果の違いは各タイプの言語構造的な特徴とそれに伴う機能に起因すると推察される。質的な分析においては、各タイプの機能を被験者の回顧インタビューに基づいて考察、整理した。それにより、各タイプはそれぞれに特徴的な機能が意図されていることが明らかになった。

本研究は以上のような英語学習者の作文過程という認知活動における言語コードの切り換えについてのあくまで試行的、予備的な段階の考察に過ぎず、データの規模や収集方法、分析方法に関して、さらに改良が望まれる。

INTRODUCTION

This article reports on an attempt to examine codeswitching in the process of second language (L2) writing. The exploration is based on the assumption that L2 writers use codeswitching to their first language (L1) as a strategy in approaching the writing task

Codeswitching as a social and communicative phenomenon occurring among those who have a command of two or more languages has been well-explored in the field of sociolinguistics since the 1950's. However, it is only relatively recently that its use in the L2 classroom setting or by individual learners of the L2 has attracted research attention. In the former sociolinguistic context, codeswitching has been analyzed in terms of its discourse functions as well as its linguistic or formal features. The two aspects and their combination have also been the focus in the latter context, i.e. that of strategic learner codeswitching.

Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi (1992), for example, present a classification of switches which were observed in teacher-student conversations in the classroom setting. They classify the switches according to their instructional functions, such as those which are aimed to facilitate students' understanding and those seeking to redirect their attention. In addition to the functions of the codeswitching observed, the researchers' classification system identifies the formal manifestation of the switches, noting whether they occur at the sentence level or at the word or phrase level. The system also indicates whether switches involve translation or not

From a similar perspective, Fotos (1995) examines codeswitching behaviors during task

performances by a group of limited proficiency Japanese learners of English (EFL learners) in comparison with those found in peer conversations by a group of balanced bilingual children. She surveys the syntactic features of the switches found in the two groups and then illustrates the discourse functions the switches serve. Among the functions of the codeswitching observed among the EFL learners, Fotos noted that "switching for emphasis" and " switching for clarification" apparently help the learners to carry out the given task. In a subsequent study, Fotos (1996) highlights this specific role of codeswitching, describing it as "a learning strategy to increase the salience of important input from the target language."

The present study intends to follow a similar line to the above pedagogically oriented studies, assuming that codeswitching may be a strategy for L2 learners. The target switches examined here occur in a different domain, however. Observation focused on codeswitching in self-talk or monologue in the form of think-aloud protocols, which are assumed to represent the thinking process during the writing task.

Interest in codeswitching during self-talk has been mentioned by Romaine (1995, p. 173) in sociolinguistic terms as follows: "Self-talk is hardly a recognized speech event, but it would be interesting to see whether bilinguals codeswitch in talking to themselves." On the other hand, Weissberg (1994), in a discussion of L1 writing, has referred to self-talk during writing as "monologue mode", acknowledging the significance of self-talk in producing "extended written text autonomously" (Weissberg 1994, p. 122). This view of self-talk was derived from the Vygotskian interpretation of "inner speech" in contrast to "external speech": "inner speech is speech for oneself; external speech is for others". While "the latter is the turning of thought into words", "with inner speech, the process is reversed: Speech turns into inward thought" (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 131). Considering that the essence of writing involves the process of generating and integrating thoughts, the role of "inner speech" or self-talk, as defined above by Vygotsky, should be paramount in the process of writing. The observation of self-talk, therefore, could be expected to reveal the essential features of the process of writing.

Thus, it could be said that the approach to codeswitching through the observation of self-talk in the writing process has emerged from the general codeswitching context as well as from the general writing research context. In sum, the present study intends to suggest how learners use the L1 as a resource for their L2 writing process by looking into the writers' self-talk recorded in the protocols.

Before the presentation of the study, a brief overview of previous studies concerning L1 use in L2 writing will be given.

PAST RESEARCH ON L1 ROLE IN L2 WRITING

Cross-lingual influence of the L1 in L2 learning has increasingly drawn attention with the spread of such major theories as Contrastive Analysis (Lado, 1957) and Interlanguage (Selinker 1972). In particular, Selinker's interlanguage concept recognized the cognitive or strategic aspect of language learning and "saw strategies of L2 learning and communication as two central processes" in the cognitive operation of the learner (Cook, 1993, p. 113). Among other studies of L2 learning strategies which followed Selinker's proposition, the survey by O'Malley et al. (1985) explored the strategies most comprehensively. In the list of the strategies they identified was L1 use "as a base for understanding and/or producing the second language" (O'Malley et al., 1985, adapted in O'Malley and Chamot 1990, p. 120).

The recognition of L1 use as a basic L2 learning strategy has been combined with interest in process approaches to L2 writing in the cognitivist's perspective. As Johns (1990, pp. 25 - 26) summarizes, the cognitivist, or "writing as problem-solving" view, has had considerable influence, first on L1 and then on L2 writing research and teaching. Consequently, the strategic use of the L1 in L2 writing as a problem-solving process has become increasingly acknowledged as a domain for exploration.

Following this line of interest, a body of empirical research on L1 use in the process of L2 writing has been conducted. The results have suggested that L1 use at some stages of the writing process could play a positive role, producing texts of better quality, and that L2 writers should be given more encouragement to make use of the L1 rather than being inhibited from using it in the course of L2 writing.

One example is a study conducted by Kobayashi and Rinnert (1992) investigating the effect of the L1 on L2 composition when the text is written in the L1 first and then translated into the L2, in contrast to compositions written directly in the L2. Their undertaking was motivated by earlier observations supporting the use of the L1 in the L2 writing process, such as those by Lay (1982), whose claim was that the L1 helps to create better quality text "in terms of ideas, organization and details" (Lay, 1982, p. 406), by Spack (1984), who found that the L1 was used to "meaningfully link image to word" (Spack, 1984, p. 664); and by Cumming (1989) and Zamel (1982), who both pointed out that the L1 functions as a resource to prevent interruption in the flow of thoughts. Kobayashi and Rinnert found that lower-proficiency students "produce higher quality compositions through

translation", and "composing initially in the first language allows students, especially those of lower language proficiency, easier and freer discovery of meaning", while higher-proficiency students benefit only in vocabulary and sentence structure variety, and not in the quality of content and organization (Kobayashi and Rinnert, 1992, p. 201). They conclude that "the use of the first language enables many students to explore ideas fully on their own intellectual and cognitive levels" (Kobayashi and Rinnert, 1992, p. 204).

Jones and Tetroe (1983) examined the planning process of L2 writing using think-aloud protocols. Their aim was to find out if L1 writing skill, the L2 writing process, and L2 proficiency are related, especially at the stage of planning within individual writers. In other words, they strove to discover if L1 planning skill transfers to L2 writing, and also if the degree of L1 use in the planning stage has any effect on the quality of planning, and eventually on the overall text quality. Their results show that planning skill transfers from L1 to L2 and that, though the text quality is affected by L2 proficiency and higher L2 level subjects use more L2 at the planning stage, it does not necessarily follow that planning quality in terms of abstractness decreases in proportion to the degree of L1 use. Thus, they reached the conclusion that L1 use in the planning process does not have a negative effect on the quality of planning. This could serve as counter-evidence against the long-sustained assumption among language teachers that L1 use is "incorrect, even harmful" while performing second-language tasks (Jones and Tetroe, 1983, p. 39).

Friedlander (1990) tested the hypothesis that the L1 might assist the retrieval of information. The results of this study indicated that the L1 did facilitate the retrieval of information in that the amount of information retrieved was proved to be significantly larger when the subjects were allowed to use the L1 in the writing process. Considering this effect of the L1, Friedlander proposes that "whereas beginning learners of English need to operate in their second language as much as possible to develop their acquisition of English," more advanced users of English should be encouraged to use their L1 advantageously as they "have developed their proficiency to such a level that their native language does not interfere with their writing in English" (Friedlander, 1990, pp. 111-112).

Jones and Tetroe (1983) also encourage L1 use, but they deal with the proficiency variable as follows.

> When the writer who was most proficient in English moved to his highest level (of planning), he did so in Spanish (L1), suggesting that those who worked at a lower level could have also used Spanish if proficiency was what was inhibiting them. (p. 55)

Here, unlike in Friedlander, lower proficiency level students are also encouraged to use the L1 to overcome the cognitive constraints caused by L2 use. Lay, who was mentioned earlier, concludes her empirical study by stating that "when there were more native language switches, the essays in this study were better quality in terms of ideas, organization and details" (1982, p. 406). Thus, Lay, and Jones and Tetroe suggest that when writers are engaged in the process of composition, especially in higher-level or more abstract activities, such as planning, idea generation and text organization, switching to the L1 may be an advantage regardless of their L2 proficiency level.

Cumming, in the conclusion of his study on the relationship between writing expertise and L2 proficiency, claims that writing expertise is transferable between the L1 and the L2 on condition that a sufficient level of L2 proficiency is achieved to "sustain the self-regulated behavior that writing performance in a second language requires" (Cumming, 1989, p. 126). He asserts that one pedagogical goal to be achieved in trying to improve inexpert L2 writers' skill is to "help them learn to use problem-solving strategies to evaluate their writing effectively while they are composing" (Cumming, 1989, pp. 126-127). In order to be able to engage in these cognitive problem-solving activities as freely and effectively as possible, the L2 writers should be encouraged to feel free to use the L1 as "an important resource in their continual process of decision-making while writing" (Cumming, 1989, p. 128).

In summary, the functions of the L1 in L2 writing which have been identified in the studies mentioned above are as follows:

The L1 helps

(1) to improve ideas, organization and details,
(2) to link image to words meaningfully,
(3) to prevent interruption in the flow of thoughts,
(4) to discover meaning or to clarify thoughts,
(5) to increase vocabulary and sentence structure variety,
(6) to explore ideas fully at the writer's own intellectual and cognitive level,
(7) to make use of L1 planning skills,
(8) to retrieve information, and

(9) to continue with the process of decision-making.

In conducting the present study, it was hypothesized that the switches between the L1 and the L2 found in the protocol data would be made to fulfill similar kinds of functions.

STUDY

Research Questions

Drawing on earlier studies which observed codeswitching behavior in L2 learners (see "Introduction") in addition to those which examined the role of the L1 in L2 writing pedagogy (discussed above in "Past Research on L1 Role in L2 Writing"), the present study was suggested by the following question: How might L2 learners use codeswitching as a cognitive strategy in the process of writing? In making a tentative approach to this question, an attempt has been made to construct a preliminary framework for the analysis of the functions of the switches and their effects on text quality.

It should be noted here that this is a very small-scale pilot study, and thus has limitations in its data size and time range. The sample size is only five and observation was conducted only once for each subject. Therefore, it is impossible at the present stage of exploration to suggest anything definite from the statistical and developmental point of view. The results provide only a tentative and partial picture of L2 learners' codeswitching behavior in the process of writing. It is hoped, however, that potential pedagogic implications and further research suggestions can be drawn from this preliminary enquiry.

Subjects

Five Japanese students participated in the study. At the time of the study they were in an intensive English course at a university in the U.K. in preparation for their respective academic subject courses the following term. All five students volunteered to participate in the experiment. Table 1 gives brief profiles of the subjects, including their English proficiencies, past experiences in learning and using English and attitudes to L1 writing. This information is provided only for general reference as to the background of the participants, and has not been specifically used as data for analysis in this study.

Data Collection

The participants were asked to record their composing-aloud protocol on an audio cassette while writing a composition in English. As the topic of their compositions, they were asked to choose one of three areas in which to compare Japanese and English ways of doing things: nature conservation, use of time, or attitude toward foreigners. Subjects A, C and D chose "attitude toward foreigners", subject B chose "nature conservation" and subject E chose "use of time". Detailed instructions about how to "think-aloud" while composing were given to them and are reproduced here as Appendix 1. The recording was done individually in the participants' own rooms without the author's attendance so that they could work without a sense of being observed. The length of the recorded tapes, as well as other quantitative data, are shown in Table 2.

The five protocols collected in this way were transcribed and coded by two coders (one of whom was the author) according to the segmentation and classification schemes presented below (in the "Research Focus" and "Categorization of Switches" sections, respectively). To assess inter-coder reliability, the percentage of the agreement of the coding results between the two coders was calculated. The observed agreement was 96.5%, which indicates that the coding can be considered reliable. Counts of the different types of switches noted in this coding process were used in analyzing the switches quantitatively.

In addition to the above figures, the five written works produced during the protocol-taking session were assessed and the resulting scores were used in the quantitative analysis. Assessments were made by two raters, both well-experienced EFL teachers. They were given a set of criteria based on that of a sample set of criteria for the writing section of IELTS (International English Language Test System) drafted by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (1990). Six aspects of the composition were assessed with scores ranging from a low of 1 to a high of 9. The totals of the six scores, the full mark of which was 54, were used as data for the analysis. The total scores of the individual subjects are shown in Table 2.

To assess inter-rater reliability, the sample coefficient of correlation between the two raters was calculated. The coefficient obtained was +0.63731. Coefficients fall in a range between -1 and +1, with results closer to +1 indicating more positive correlation between the variables. Considering the subjective nature of this kind of assessment-related data, the value obtained for the raters in this study can be considered to show that the two raters made reliable assessments according to a consistent set of criteria.

TABLE 1. Subject Profiles

Subject	Age/ Sex*	Major	TOEFL Score**	Previous L2 Education/Experience	L1 Writing Experience/Attitude
A	G/M	Politics	450-500	In ordinary Japanese school system, Reading at college, 3 weeks' stay in U.K.	Has experience in editing newsletter, Is "fond" of writing in general
B	U/F	Sociology	500-550	In ordinary Japanese school system, Reading, writing, speaking & listening at college, 3 weeks' stay in U.K.	Assesses self as "poor writer"
C	U/M	Politics	450-500	In ordinary Japanese school system, Reading, speaking & listening at college, 1 month's stay in U.K., Has experience as tour guide interpreter	Is "very fond" of writing in general
D	G/F	English (International studies***)	500-550	In ordinary Japanese school system, Reading, speaking & listening at college, 1 month' s stay in U.K.	Assesses self as "poor writer"
E	U/F	History	450-500	In ordinary Japanese school system, Reading and writing at college, 1 month's stay in U.S., 1 month's stay in U.K.	Essay writing at college, Assesses self as "poor writer"

Notes:

* Age is approximated by indicating whether a person is an undergraduate (U) or graduate (G) student. To maintain confidentiality, specific ages are not shown.

** TOEFL scores were obtained in Japan shortly before the students entered the course in England. Scores are shown within a range of 50 to maintain confidentiality

*** Only subject D changed her major after entering the intensive course, switching from English, which was her undergraduate major in Japan, to International Studies. The other students kept the major they had in Japan.

Finally, to make a qualitative analysis of the functions of the switches, retrospective interviews were conducted with the participants. At this time, they were asked about their intentions in making the different switches in their protocols. In this way, the writers who actually employed the switches in their writing processes were used to identify the intended functions of the various types of switches.

Research Focus

Codeswitching is usually defined in sociolinguistic terms as follows: the deliberate switch of languages available to the speaker within the same speech exchange to suit the function of the utterance (Romaine, 1995; Collin, 1993; Beardsmore, 1986). The present study has adapted the above definition and applied its operation to the writing process.

In terms of the protocol data of the present study, "the same speech exchange" is considered to be equivalent to the same process of writing a composition, as represented by the think-aloud protocol. The most substantial difference between conversational discourse and the series of utterances made during the writing process is that while there is necessarily more than one speaker involved in conversation and the goal of the activity and any associated codeswitching is essentially to serve communicative purposes, the writing process comprises cognitive processes in which an individual writer is engaged in striving to complete a written product. Thus, any codeswitching which may occur in the latter process has distinctive features from those found in conversation. That is, codeswitching which happens in the process of writing can be assumed to be solely motivated by cognitive needs. It differs from its communicative counterpart, which has been acknowledged to

serve either conversational or situational functions (Gumperz, 1976).

In investigating codeswitching in the cognitive domain, this study limits its focus in the following way. Among the three types of switching defined by Poplack (1980) -- inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching, and tag-switching -- the present study particularly focuses on the type of switching which is equivalent to intra-sentential switching.[1] This type of switching is called intra-segmental switching here, as the protocols have been divided into segments by contents. The criterion of the segmentation is content-based; that is, when new content is introduced in the sequence of the utterances, that point is considered to be the borderline for segmentation.

The reason for the particular focus on this type of switching is that the aim of the present study is to identify the strategic functions of codeswitching in the process of L2 writing, where the writers are assumed to face blocks which arise from causes distinct from those presented when writing in their first language. The observation of intra-segmental switching is expected to reveal the struggles the L2 writers have to go through in their attempt to generate a single self-contained idea within a single segment. On the other hand, codeswitching across segments, which could be called inter-segmental switching, would be considerably affected by the change of the content implied by the segmentation criterion. Hence the focus on intra-segmental switching was thought to suit the aim of the study.

Past research supports this expectation. For example, Nishimura (1986) found that in the domain of spoken discourse, "switching takes place so often even within a sentence that not all switching can be attributed to contextual features" (p.123), but such intra-sentential switching can be largely inspired by "functional and communicative" requirements (p. 124).

Categorization of Switches

An attempt to categorize the intra-segmental switches in terms of their formal features has been made in reference to past studies that dealt with intra-sentential switches in the context of the communicative spoken discourse (Nishimura, 1986; Azuma, 1987; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Yoon, 1992; Merritt et al., 1992).[2]

Three kinds of formal features have been identified in the protocol. In addition, the respective types subsume two subtypes according to the relationship between the language codes. In the first type (Type 1), it is possible to identify constituents of English at one point and those of Japanese at another, each juxtaposed sequentially to complete one self-contained segment. In this type of switch, when a segment starts in English and then switches to Japanese, it is categorized as 1E, and when it starts in Japanese, it is labeled 1J. In cases where an interjection or a similar kind of discourse-marker equivalent starts the segment and the switch occurs immediately after that, the language of the expression is considered to be the starting code.

In the second type of codeswitch (Type 2), the overall structure of the segment can be identified either as English or as Japanese, but one lexical unit, consisting of a single word or of a chunk of words of the other language, is embedded in that structure. When the overall structure is English, the segment is labeled 2E, and in the opposite case, the label 2J is given to the segment.

In the third type (Type 3), it is possible to identify the juxtaposition of constituents of both languages as in Type 1, but the difference is that a constituent of one language is followed by its translation equivalent in the other language. Thus in this type of switch, the idea expressed in one language is reiterated in the other language.[3] In such cases, when English comes first and the Japanese translation follows, the switch is labeled 3E; when translation occurs the other way around, it is labeled 3J.

When more than one type of switch occurs within a segment, the switches are classified as "plural switches" (abbreviated "Pl." in Table 2). This category was devised as a compromise to ensure that information would not be lost by putting all switches into mono-type categories, but at the same time, categorization would not become too complicated by trying to represent all the different combinations of types. Samples of the Plural Switches category are shown in Appendix 2.

Finally, cases where no switch occurs within a segment are indicated by the labels NE for non-switched English segments and NJ for non-switched Japanese segments.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Quantitative Analysis

The results of the coding, indicating the number of each of the types of switches made by each of the subjects, as well as the subject's composition assessment score and tape time are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Quantitative Assessment Data (Composition Assessment Scores, Use of Switch Types and Tape Lengths)

Subject	Text Score	NE	NJ	1E	1J	2E	2J	3E	3J	PI.	Total	Tape Length (Minutes)
A	75.5	159	56	18	17	0	33	1	5	5	294	86
B	74.5	259	14	23	13	3	17	3	5	29	366	105
C	68	86	58	9	12	0	31	0	1	10	207	90
D	75.5	136	45	11	18	2	54	6	7	3	282	115
E	58.5	15	51	7	8	3	36	3	5	20	148	56

Note: See "Categorization of Switches" for details on switch types

The table shows that for all subjects, Type 1, which includes subtypes 1E and 1J, and subtype 2J, represent a considerable number of the switches compared to other categories. This observation led to the hypothesis that Types 1 and 2J may have a substantial effect on the process of L2 writing, and thereby on the quality of the text. It was therefore decided that the ratio of Type 1 (1E and 1J) to the total number of switches and the ratio of subtype 2J to the total for each subject should be crossed with the subject's text assessment score to see if there was any relationship between the two variables of each pair.

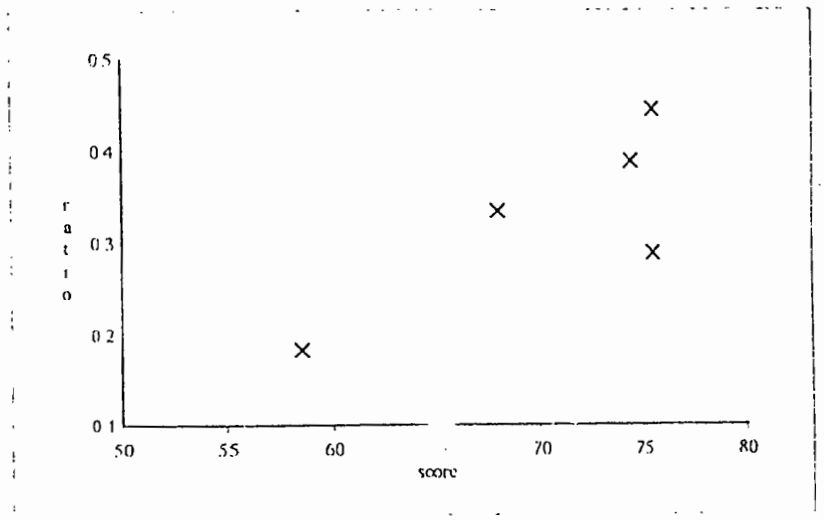


FIGURE 1. Switch Type 1 Ratio vs Text Assessment Score

The sample coefficient of correlation was calculated for the two pairs of variables: the ratio of Type 1 switches and text quality, and the 2J ratio and text quality. The coefficient obtained for the former pair was 0.7991, where the value ranges between -1 and 1. This value is considered to indicate that the ratio of Type 1 switches to the total number of intra-segmental switches could explain text quality: that is, the more frequently Type 1 switches occur, the better the quality the writer achieves. (See Figure 1.) On the other hand, when the 2J ratio and text quality were crossed, the coefficient obtained was -0.2614. This value indicates that the ratio of 2J switches to the total number of intra-segmental switches has no significant effect on text quality. (See Figure 2.)

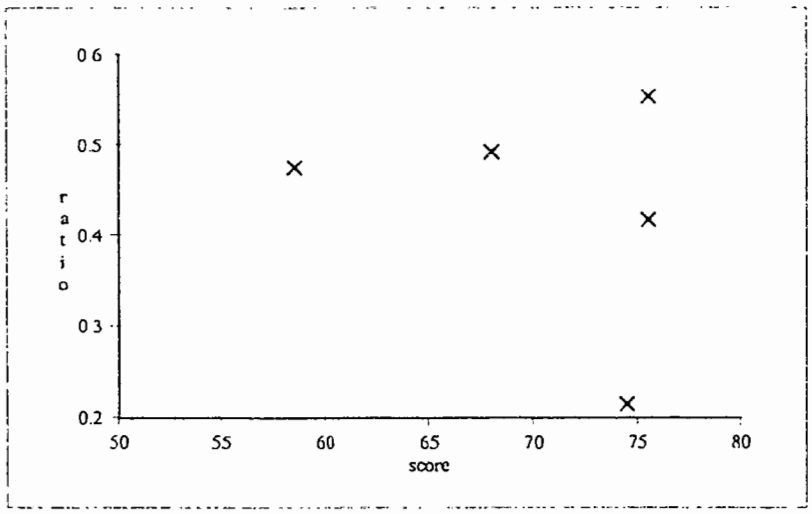


FIGURE 2. Switch Type 2J Ratio vs Text Assessment Score

A possible interpretation of the above statistical analysis is as follows:

Type 1 Switches and Text Quality: Type 1 switches, which consist of juxtapositions of L1 and L2 constituents, each with their own respective monolingual internal structure, can be seen to aid L2 learners in effective construction of the text both conceptually and linguistically. Idea generation would be promoted within the monolingual structure, either in the L1 or the L2, and the construction of meaning would be continued uninterrupted by the language alternation, while text production in the L2 would be aided by the preparatory or tentative representation of the idea in the form of the sequenced structures of the L1 and the L2.

2J Switches and Text Quality: Subtype 2J was the single category which occurred most frequently in all individual protocols except for that of subject B. In spite of the frequency of its occurrence, however, statistical analysis shows that this subtype is not directly connected with better quality text. The fact that 2J was extensively used by the subjects could indicate that 2J is the most accessible switching pattern for L2 writers in the idea generation process. However the results of the quantitative analysis allow us to say that 2J does not help text production of the L2 at its surfaced or product stage.

To sum up the quantitative analysis, it is tentatively concluded that, among the three types of switches observed in the protocols, Type 1 was the only one to have a significant effect on the production of better quality L2 text.

Qualitative Analysis

The functions of the codeswitches in the protocols were investigated by conducting retrospective interviews with the subjects. At this time, the subjects were asked their intentions in using various code switches. A summary of the functions of the different types of switches from the viewpoint of L1 use was made, based primarily on the subjects' reports of their perceptions. The summary is abbreviated in Table 3 for easy reference, and presented in more detail in the paragraphs below. For further reference, representative samples of the switches and the comments on them made by the subjects are given in Appendix 2.

TABLE 3: Functions of the Six Switch Types as Reported by the Subjects

Switch Type	Reported Functions
1E	- Switches to the L1 were used to keep the flow of thoughts uninterrupted when writers were faced with problems related to content as well as language use.
1J	The L1 was used as - a prompt to start generating text in the L2, typically when discourse interjections and conjunctions were used. - a facilitator for text production which would allow the writer to start with the more accessible code.
2E	- L1 lexemes were used as temporary substitutes for their English equivalents when there were lexical gaps between the L1 and L2.
2J	The L2 was used in L1 structures when - technical terms were mentioned. - preceding English expressions were referred to. - English set phrases were inserted in preparation for the production of English text at a later stage.
3E	Translation into the L1 was used to - confirm the meaning of what had been written in the L2. - clarify the thoughts the writer had uttered in the L2. - elaborate or develop thoughts when further information was added to the translation of the English utterance.
3J	L1 use before translation into L2 helped - as a rehearsal stage to generate English text. - at the word level, to facilitate the search for the most appropriate English equivalent in the subject's memory. - while the writer was thinking in the L1 about the content to follow, to check coherence between what had previously been written in English and what was to be written next in English.

Note: Features of the switch categories (See "Categorization of Switches" for details)

1E. English structure followed by Japanese structure
1J Japanese structure followed by English structure
2E: Japanese lexeme(s) embedded in English structure
2J English lexeme(s) embedded in Japanese structure
3E English utterances followed by their Japanese translation
3J Japanese utterances followed by their English translation

Type 1, Subtype E

1E switches, in which segments start in English and switch to Japanese, were mainly used to keep the flow of thoughts uninterrupted when problems arose in relation to either English usage or content. For example, Japanese surfaced in utterances when grammatical items were referred to, as these terms had been learned in Japanese, and because such comments on grammar did not need to be included in the English text. Another example occurred when the idea was there but the writer's facility in English was insufficient to complete the exposition of the idea in that language. In this case, English gave way to Japanese so that the idea could be maintained temporarily until adequate English expressions were accessed through heuristic search. In other cases, affective comments surfaced in Japanese when writers were faced with mental blocks.

Type 1, Subtype J

In this type of switch, in which segments start in Japanese and then switch into English, the L1 functioned as a prompt to start the generation of an idea. Typical cases involved segments which

started with interjections such as '*eeto*' (well) and '*uun*' (aah), or conjunctions such as '*dakara*' and '*sorede*' or '*de*' in its shortened form, both equivalent to 'therefore' or 'so'. These prompting words seem to be giving the writers time to meditate at the abstract, pre-verbalized cognitive level. In addition, this type of switch facilitated the writers' text production in English by allowing writers to begin with Japanese adverbial phrases or clauses, or Japanese subjects, and then continue with the following English part, as the starting position of these structural elements is common to the two languages. [4]

Type 2, Subtype E

There were only a small number of switches of this kind, in which Japanese words or phrases are embedded in English structures. In fact, two of the subjects' protocols had no switches of this type. The motivation for using this kind of switch was that an English word had failed to come up during English text production, so a Japanese expression was temporarily substituted for it. The phrase "*nantoka*" (something or other), which was used several times in different protocols, seemed to be a convenient expression to fill in such lexical gaps.

Type 2, Subtype J

The embedding of English words in Japanese structures occurred frequently in the protocols of all of the subjects. The intended functions of such switches were reported to be as follows. Firstly, in the case of technical terms related to writing, such as "general statement" and "conclusion", or words related to other specific fields, such as "multi-ethnic society" and "National Trust", English terms were used without alteration in Japanese structures because there was no need to put them into Japanese in terms of the goal of the task, as long as their meanings were clear enough to the writers themselves. Secondly, when writers reflected in Japanese on what they had previously written in English, they referred back to the English expressions in question without translating them into Japanese. Thirdly, at the interim stage of creating an English sentence, English "chunks" or set phrases were often inserted in the preparatory Japanese structure. This stage was perceived by some of the subjects to facilitate the composition of English text.

Type 3, Subtype E

The juxtaposition of an English word or phrase and its Japanese equivalent was primarily used to confirm the meaning of things that had been written in English at an earlier stage. Another reported function of this kind of switch occurred when the writer made comments on his/her own writing in English; the subjects reported that translation of the comments into Japanese helped to clarify their thoughts.

The translated versions sometimes contained additional information not contained in the original utterances. Such cases were categorized as "plural" switches, because they are interpreted as consisting of both Type 1 and Type 3 switches. This kind of switching was seen to promote the elaboration of thoughts. A similar observation was reported by Fotos (1995, p. 10).

Type 3, Subtype J

Japanese utterances before the subject switched into English reportedly helped subjects to generate English text, since they served as a rehearsal stage in the easier language code for the learners. When this type of switch occurs at the word level, the Japanese utterance facilitates the search for the most appropriate English counterpart known to the subject. This function seems to be similar to what Friedlander (1990) referred to as "the retrieval of information".

It was also reported that Japanese helped to check the coherence of what had already been written and what was about to be written. This strategy may be thought to reduce the cognitive burden on the learners and help to spare part of their cognitive capacity for the consideration of logical aspects. Thus, the switch may be employed to reduce engagement in linguistic processing and allow writers to give consideration to the other aspects of writing.

CONCLUSION

The present paper has reported on an attempt to observe mental codeswitching behavior in EFL student writers. The study has attempted to classify codeswitching patterns into three major types: the sequenced constituent type (Type 1), the embedded single lexeme or single phrase (Type 2), and the translation type (Type 3). Each type is further classified into two subcategories in terms of the relationship between the two languages involved

On the basis of this typology, the effects of codeswitching on the quality of the written text produced and its functions in the writing process have been observed. The results of the dual quantitative and qualitative analysis indicate the possibility that the different types may serve

considerably distinctive functions (see Table 3) and affect the quality of the text to differing degrees.

The functions of each type of switch were reported to be as follows: 1E to keep the flow of thoughts, 1J as a prompt and facilitator for text generation, 2E to allow the temporary substitution of an L1 word or phrase to fill a lexical gap, 2J to refer to English terms and expressions, 3E to confirm, clarify and elaborate meaning, and 3J to rehearse text generation, to facilitate word search and check coherence. Quantitative analysis of the data indicated that among the three types of switches, the sequenced constituent type (Type 1) seemed to have a relatively close relationship to the quality of the text produced. Possible reasons for this would be that this type of switch might help to start and continue idea generation, whereas text production in English might be facilitated by the preparatory representation of the idea in the E-J or J-E sequenced structure. Thus it would be possible to suggest that the composing process might be helped both conceptually and rhetorically in an integrated way by this type of codeswitching.

In terms of pedagogy, the above findings could be of practical use in the instruction of L2 writing. Teachers could introduce the different types of switches and their possible strategic functions to students and suggest which type would be more helpful for the production of better writing. More generally speaking, evidence that the apparent tendency of writers to employ codeswitching is not necessarily a negative trait may allow teachers to have confidence in accepting this strategy in the classroom rather than imposing an inflexibly orthodox "English only" policy.

The present study, as a preliminary investigation of codeswitching, contains much room for improvement. It is expected, therefore, that further exploration of this area will improve the following shortcomings of the study and produce more generalizable and reliable results: (1) sample size: a larger number of subjects would improve the validity of the data; (2) time range of the observation: a longitudinal observation of the same subjects might produce interesting results concerning the way in which codeswitching behavior changes as L2 proficiency improves and how these changes are reflected in the quality of the written text produced; (3) think-aloud protocol as a data collecting method: the think-aloud protocol has not been free from criticism: the main criticisms have been that this method might distort the thought process and that it can only produce incomplete sets of data of the thought process, since subjects are not always conscious of their thinking process, and therefore the entire process cannot be verbalized (Hayes and Flower, 1983). Even though every possible effort has been made to overcome the drawbacks of the method in its execution by giving subjects instructions and by making arrangements to allow them to work under circumstances which are as minimally artificial and disruptive as possible, it is expected that there will still be ways to improve the employment of this method; (4) retrospective interviews: the retrospective interviews could have been better structured to facilitate comparative observation among the participants as well as among the different switching types; (5) the coding scheme: the scheme is only at a preliminary stage of development and needs further tests and improvements before it can be used with confidence.

Thus, with these limitations in mind, the present study should be considered only a tentative, preliminary enquiry, but one, it is hoped, which will prompt further questions and more rigorous investigations into the role of codeswitching in second language writing.

NOTES

1. The present study only clearly distinguishes between inter-segmental and intra-segmental switching. Accordingly, tag-switching equivalents in the present data have been classified as intra-segmental switches.
2. The concepts of base language (Nishimura, 1986) and matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 1992) have not been used in the present study, as the main aim here is not to conduct linguistic analysis in a strict sense, but to observe functions according to a looser but more pragmatic or accessible classification of the formal aspects of the switches, which are not necessarily congruent with such precise linguistic typology. Merritt et al. (1992) used a similar kind of typology to explore the functions of switches in the classroom setting
3. Fotos (1995) points out that translation from the L2 into the L1 may involve not only the repetition of the idea but also its further elaboration. Such cases have also been observed in the present study. They have been classified as plural switches, since translation and sequenced contents across the two linguistic codes are involved.
4. According to Nishimura (1986), those cases in which a subject marker such as "*wa*" or "*ga*" is attached to a Japanese subject that is followed by an English predicate are constituent-sequenced switches (Nishimura, 1986, p. 136), which would be included in Type 1 in the present typology. On the other hand, cases in which a Japanese adverbial phrase with an adverbial marker such as "*de*", "*ni*", or "*kara*" starts the utterance and is followed by an English clause, the sentence is categorized as a Japanese sentence with the English clause embedded (Nishimura, 1986, p. 133), which would be equivalent to Type 2 here. This is because word order in which an

adverbial element comes first in the sentence is considered to be derived from Japanese, and word order is the primary criterion by which the base language is determined in Nishimura's proposition. The present study, however, has included both kinds of cases--those in which a Japanese subject and those in which a Japanese adverbial element starts the utterance-- in Type 1, as the present typology is meant to limit the range of Type 2 to more apparently embedded cases as defined in "Categorization of Switches".

APPENDIX 1

Instructions for the participants in "thinking-aloud" protocol taking

Thank you for your cooperation with my research. The following are the instructions for the present experiment. Please read them carefully before you start to work.

On the cassette, you will find several minutes' recording of a model speaker. Please listen to it before you start your own recording so that you can grasp the general idea of what is expected to be recorded. Then rewind the tape to the beginning and start recording. When you finish, please submit the cassette in the recorder, the draft of your composition and, if you make notes during planning, the notes as well.

(1) Aim of this experiment:

To observe how Japanese writers compose in English.

(2) Topic of the composition:

Compare the attitudes or ways of thinking of people in Japan and in the U.K. on one of the following issues:

a. environmental problems or nature conservation
b. the use of time
c. the way of treating foreigners

Please choose one of the above for the comparison and present your idea.

(3) Kind of writing expected:

Please write in an ordinary essay style, which is neither too casual nor too formal. There is no need to use references to build up or support your ideas. You are expected to write a short essay based on your own impressions or your past experiences.

(4) Length of the composition:

Between 300 and 500 words.

(5) Time:

Within 120 minutes.

Everything is to be included in this length of time, from planning to finishing-up.

**You might start thinking about the topic before you start recording. But please do not prepare too much beforehand, for example, by making a detailed written plan of the draft, or by writing down ideas on note paper. These kinds of activities are expected to be included in the recording period.

(6) Guidelines on "thinking-aloud" while writing:

** When you first turn the recorder on, please explain what you have done so far in preparation for the present writing.

a. Please speak to yourself as you are engaged in the writing task and record your speech on the cassette. In other words, you are expected to talk about or "report" in "real-time" what is going on in your head while you are writing.
b. Please try to keep saying whatever comes up in your mind as you write, except for utterances totally unrelated to the writing, like "I am hungry". For example, you might be thinking about what to write or how to organize the whole draft or which word or which grammatical structure to use.

   If you fall into silence, leave the tape on and try to recover your speech as quickly as possible. If you can, after the silence, please explain why you have been silent.
c You are expected to write just as you normally do in English writing. If you want to look at dictionaries, feel free to do so, and if you fall into silence while consulting them, please explain what you have done with them afterwards.

d. If you need time for planning before you actually start writing a draft, please take the time for planning within the 120 minutes allotted. Even during the planning period, please remember to speak out so that your planning process is also recorded on the cassette. If you normally write down notes during planning, please do so and submit the notes in addition to the completed draft.
e. If you spend time re-reading and revising or editing your draft, please include these activities within the given 120 minutes. Please remember to speak out even while you are doing these activities.
f Please do not be too conscious of the listener. Please try to pretend that you are speaking to yourself (except that you are expected to explain some things), as you probably do sometimes when you are alone or when you are trying to solve a problem or when you are trying to instruct yourself consciously about things that are still new to you.
g. You can speak either in Japanese or in English. Please try to speak in whichever language comes into your head first.

APPENDIX 2
Sample Switches and Subjects' Comments on Their Functions

The following are extracts of the switches found in the "thinking aloud" protocols. They are intended to represent the way in which each of the three types of switches is considered to function. At least one sample is given for each of the six types in the protocols. In some cases, more than one sample is given for a type when it appears to have different functions. The writers' comments on their own intentions in using the particular types of switches accompany the samples.

The samples are presented in the following way. (1) Samples and comments are presented for each subject. In addition, a brief summary of the writer's tendency in codeswitching behavior is provided at the end of his or her set of samples. The summaries are also based on the writer's own reflections. (2) Japanese parts are italicized and then translated into English in the parentheses that follow. The parts in the parentheses that are literally translated are underlined. The other parts in the parentheses which are not underlined are added to make the translation intelligible. In the cases of interjections and other similar discourse or grammatical elements, brief explanations of their usage are provided in the parentheses in addition to or instead of the translation. (3) A question mark (?) is used when something is asked with a rising intonation, and dots (...) are used when pauses are quite recognizable.

PROTOCOL A

Type 1, Subtype E

(1) That English people avoid communicating *genzai bunshi de iindayo na* (present participle is all right, isn't it?)

(A's comment: As grammatical terms had been learned in Japanese, grammatical monitoring was naturally carried out in Japanese.)

(2) These two instances imply imply that *tsugi no koto wo shisa shiteiru youni omou* (seems to imply the following)

(A's comment: When relevant English expressions did not come to mind, Japanese equivalents were used to continue the sentence, and then from the switching spot, Japanese phrases followed in Japanese order naturally. As a result, part of the Japanese utterance was the repetition, not complement, of part of the English utterance.)

(3) It depends on ourself ourself whether... *aa* (sigh) *yappa nihongo dattara motto umaku kakerun dagana* (Ahh, of course I could write better in Japanese.)

(A's comment: Comments on feelings were basically and naturally made in Japanese.)

Type 1, Subtype J

Uun (equivalent to 'aah' in English) many Japanese people aah who studies En... *a* (indicating sudden awareness) who studies English *dake ja naimon na* (not only "those who study English", is it?) who studies *a* who study who study in in in a university university.

(A's comment: The basic structure here was English, but when he noticed that part of his English text did not fully express what he wanted to say, he switched back to Japanese to think more precisely. Interjections were used without consciousness of whether they were English or Japanese.)

Type 2, Subtype E
No switches of this type were found in Protocol A

Type 2, Subtype J
- They *wo tsukaute dore ga* English people *ka wakannakunacchau kara*

(If I use "they", it will become unclear which word refers back to "English people".)
(A's comment: The structure of the utterance was Japanese-based and English words were just used as loan words in order to think in Japanese about grammar and rhetoric.)

Type 3, Subtype E
- It is natural *touzen no koto da* (it is natural)

(A's comment: Japanese was used to confirm what had been said in English.)

Type 3, Subtype J
- For us *tokuni* (especially) for us especially *tokuni nihon-jin ni totte wa* (especially for Japanese people) especially for Japanese

(A's comment: To prevent the flow of the thoughts from being interrupted, Japanese words were uttered first and then they prompted English translations.)

Summary of Protocol A

Types 1 and 2J were the major kinds of switches used by A. This allowed him to use Japanese structure to integrate ideas. Even though he felt inhibited from using Japanese or thinking in Japanese in the process of writing because he believed that trying to think in English was a good strategy to improve his English proficiency, he found himself using Japanese structure quite naturally when he wanted to generate and clarify his ideas.

PROTOCOL B
Type 1, Subtype E

(1) There is ... there are large parks for example for instance Hyde Park For example for instance... *uun* (interjection indicating meditation) not smooth *chotto gikochi nai kana... ma iiya* (a bit awkward... well doesn't matter)

(B's comment: Because she attempted to use English throughout the thinking process, her comments on her writing were made in English whenever possible. However sometimes Japanese comments replaced English ones in order for her to have a better or more precise grasp of the problem.)

(2) They are willing to go there and *uun uun* (indicating meditation) *kutsurogu* (relax) go there... they and... and they *nonbirisuru* (take it easy)

(B's comment: When English expressions did not come up in time in the process of constructing English structures, Japanese equivalents replaced them. This replacement allowed the subject to avoid interruptions in the flow and devolopment of thoughts while she searched for appropriate English words)

(3) Their duty is *isan wo nokosu koto* (to preserve heritages) *kireini* (undamaged)... not *kireini, sono mama nokosu koto* (to preserve undamaged, but as they are)

(B's comment: She wondered about the grammatical structure to use after "is": whether to use a clause starting with "that" or a phrase with "to" plus an infinitive, so she temporarily inserted the phrase in Japanese to fill in the space.)

Type 1, Subtype J
(In Plural Switch Type 1J+3E)

(1) *Uun* (indicating meditation) which is better to write write on? Just about English and after that I talk about Japanese? Or I write comparing? *hikaku shinagara susumeru noto docchiga iika..* (Which is better, to describe and compare at the same time, or to describe first and then proceed to compare?) Anyway at first I write down separately

(B's comment: Thinking about the organization of the text, she tried to use English initially, and then, in order to clarify the thought, she continued with the Japanese translation)

Type 2, Subtype E
(in Plural Switch Type 3E+2E)

- It control rule *toukatsu suru* (control) ... no... it *nantoka* (something or other) many heritage... I can't count... this is countable noun... so it something many heritage heritages

(B's comment: "*nantoka*" was used as an equivalent to "something or other", which replaced "*nantoka*" in the following full English sentence. The subject felt as if "*nantoka*" and "something or other" were identical expressions and was not conscious of the difference of the languages. She used both as temporary fillers because the word in question did not come to mind instantly.)

Type 2, Subtype J
(in Plural Switch Type 3E+2J)

- On the other hand *sono ippou de* (on the other hand) however *kana* (Is "however" better?)... *nanka* however *bakkari dana... atode koko wa naosu toshite* (It seems that I always use "however"... I will change it later)

(B's comment: While thinking about better words to use, she naturally used Japanese structure, even though she was trying to use as much English as possible in her thinking.)

Type 3, Subtype E
(in Plural Switch Type 3E+1E)

- Because if we enter with dogs or cats maybe dog or cat run around *Hashiri mawattari shite yogoshitari suru shi* (run around and make a mess)

(B's comment: By translating into Japanese, she confirmed the meaning of what she wrote in English.)

Type 3, Subtype J

- *Kore ga igirisu-jin ga shizen wo daiji ni shiteru shizen ga tottemo suki da tteiu riyuu no hitotsu* example *rei no hitotsu de aru to* (This is one reason or one example illustrating that British people value and like nature) This is one example that the English love and *uun* (indicating meditation) are interested in nature

(B's comment: In order not to stop the flow of thoughts after finishing an example, she first used Japanese and then translated it into English.)

Summary of Protocol B

Subject B attempted to use more English in her thinking, believing that thinking in English would help her to improve her English proficiency. On the other hand, whenever she felt blocked, she switched into Japanese to keep the thinking process going.

PROTOCOL C
Type 1, Subtype E
(in Plural Switch Type 1E+2J)

- If your guest is an Indian you won't serve... *Gochisou suru gochisou gochisou wa* serve *de iinkana...gochisou* treat *de iinoka* (Is "serve" all right for "*gochisousuru*"? Is "treat" all right for "*gochisou*"?)

(C's comment: Though he started in English, when he noticed problematic parts, he switched into Japanese structure to solve the problems.)

Type 1, Subtype J

- *Dakara neta ga tsukitara jibun no hou kara aite no kuni no neta toka wo kikeba iitte koto dayo ne* (so when we find no more topic to talk about during conversation, we had better ask for topics about the country of the person we speak with, hadn't we?) Secondly we had better learn the topic of their country

(C's comment: By using Japanese first, he checked the coherence of what he had already written with what he was planning to write.)

Type 2, Subtype E

No switches of this type were found in Protocol C.

Type 2, Subtype J
(in Plural Switch Type 2J+3E)

- The way of treating foreigners *kana ja* (I will choose "the way of treating foreigners", then) *Gaikoku-jin no motenashikata tteiu imi de ii no kana un* (It is all right to interpret this to mean "the way of entertaining foreigners", I think.)

(C's comment: By putting the title he chose into Japanese, he clarified its meaning to himself.)

Type 3, Subtype E

- In case of Japan *nihon no baai* (in the case of Japan)

(C's comment: He confirmed the meaning of the English expression by translating it into Japanese.)

Type 3, Subtype J

- *Igokochi ga warui no hou ga iikana* (Is "uncomfortable" better?) *igokochi ga warui* (uncomfortable) I was I was I was uncomfortable at that time

(C's comment: By thinking of the Japanese expression first, he was able to associate his idea with the English equivalent more easily.)

Summary of Protocol C

Subject C tended to start utterances in English, and then either inserted Japanese comments and translations or continued and elaborated in Japanese. He consciously used Japanese to think about the organization of the text; on the other hand, when English expressions occurred to him first, he prioritized them.

PROTOCOL D
Type 1, Subtype E

- More coldly? *Kore wa atode chotto shirabeyou bunpou teki ni* (I'll check this later in terms of grammar) more coldly? than English people

(D's comment: She deliberately used Japanese as the code for underlying thinking, so comments on the writing were made in Japanese while she was generating the English text.)

Type 1, Subtype J

(1) *De* (therefore) it's not strange that there are a lot of foreigners around English people themselves

(D's comment: Japanese conjunctions were easier than English equivalents to use as "springboards" to facilitate the generation of the following statement.)

(2) *Nihon-jin no ishiki no naka de gaikoku-jin wo monosugoku ishiki shiteiru tame ni* (Because in their consciousness Japanese people are greatly aware of foreigners) Japanese people try to do his best but... but *sono ishiki no naka ni* (in that consciousness) Japanese people has inferiority complex.

(D's comment: As adverbial phrases or clauses tend to come first in Japanese sentences, it is easier to start with the Japanese modifiers and then continue in English. In other words, text generation is prompted by the Japanese modifiers.)

(3) *Igirisu to nihon no hantai no koto wo kakuto* (To write about the contrast between Britain and Japan) *Igirisu ga* (Britain is) multi-ethnic and Japan is mono-ethnic country

(D's comment: After the particle "*ga*" indicating subject, she continued with the English term 'multi-ethnic' which she had learned in English, and with this term as a switching cue, she switched to English.)

Type 2, Subtype E
(in Plural Switch Type 2J+3J+2E)

- *Katakoto no* Japanese *de* (In broken Japanese) in *nantoka* (something or other) Japanese

(D's comment: To prevent interruption while translating the Japanese expression into English, she temporarily substituted a Japanese word)

Type 2, Subtype J

(1) England *wa* (particle indicating topic) multi-ethnic society *de aru koto* (that England is a multi-ethnic society)

(D's comment: The terms "England" and "multi-ethnic society" had been learned in English, so they were used in the Japanese structure just like loan words. The same thing happened when she used technical terms related to writing, such as "conclusion" and "general statement", in considering the organization of the text.)

Type 3, Subtype E

- On the other hand it's still strange *mezurashii* (strange)

(D's comment: By translating the word into Japanese, she checked its meaning.)

Type 3, Subtype J

- *Eeto kore wa nani wo iitai katte iuto igirisu-jin ga kanshin ga nai* (Well what this means is that British people are not interested) English people don't pay attention to foreigners but Japanese people pay attention to them

(D's comment: The use of Japanese helped to generate and structure her ideas before she put them into English.)

Type 3, Subtypes E and J
(in Plural Switch Type 3E+3J)

- However considering about Japanese manner of treating foreigners we the Japanese might do the same thing *Shikashi nagara nihon-jin no hou ga nihon-jin no hou mo onaji koto wo shiteiru kamo shirenai... shite... shiuru...* (However Japanese might also be doing the same thing... be doing... could do...) would... might... could...

(D's comment: She first confirmed the meaning of the English sentence by producing its Japanese translation. When she noticed an expression she could improve, she switched back into English to search for the most appropriate word.)

Summary of Protocol D

Subject D used Japanese structure most deliberately for generating and integrating ideas, as she was convinced of the advantage of the use of Japanese at these higher levels of cognitive activities in composition.

PROTOCOL E
Type 1, Subtype E
(in Plural Switch Type 1E+2J)

- The use of time between ... between *te kakuto yarinikui youna henna bunshou ni naru youna kigasuru* ("between" seems to make the sentence construction difficult and odd)

(E's comment: When she noticed word usage which she was unsure of, she switched into Japanese to think about it in Japanese.)

Type 1, Subtype J

- *De* (So) and they live *oya kara hanarete* (away from parents) separately from

(E's comment: By using the Japanese conjunction "*de*", she let herself think of the logical sequence after the prior part. Then the next inserted Japanese expression helped her to come up with the English equivalent which should follow "live".)

Type 2, Subtype E
(in Plural Switch Type 2E+3E)

- I think the use of time free time *no tsukaikata* (the use of free time) is very different between English students and Japanese

(E's comment: To confirm the meaning, she inserted the Japanese translation of "the use of" between the subject and the verb of the English sentence.)

Type 2, Subtype J

(1) *De nan dakke...* (so what was that?) *nantoka* (something or other) thesis specific thesis *dattakke* (was it called "specific thesis"?)

(E's comment: When she was trying to remember the English term, Japanese structure facilitated recollection.)

(2) *Ryou ni hairu ka* (live in dormitories or) share flats with other students *shiteiru* (are doing "sharing flats")

(E's comment: With the coordinating particle "*ka*" meaning "or" as a switching cue, she naturally switched into English. However, as indicated by the Japanese ending, the whole structure of the sentence remained Japanese.)

Type 3, Subtype E

(1) All my corridors do not work work *hataraite nai ga..* (are not working, but...)

(E's comment: By putting the last part into Japanese, she tried to connect it with the ideas that followed.)

(2) It's due to the difference of university system *daigaku seido no chigai ni yoru mono dewa nai darou ka* (I wonder if it isn't due to the difference in the university systems)

(E's comment: This was the conclusion of the passage, so the confirmation of the meaning in Japanese was all the more necessary.)

Type 3, Subtype J
(in Plural Switch Type 2J+3J)

- *Futsuu no katei no hito ga futsuu ni daigaku ni ikuyou ni natta* England *demo nihon demo* (In both England and Japan where it has become common for people from ordinary families to go to universities) ... *futsuu futsuu futsuu* (ordinary) normal ? *chigau* (that is not right) general?

(E's comment: While uttering the Japanese word "*futsuu*", she was searching for an equivalent in English.)

Summary of Protocol E

Subject E most frequently used the 2J type switch. She also tended to combine different types of switches. She let herself talk or think in either language quite naturally without any special intention of using one of the languages more than the other. The result was that she mainly used Japanese structure to promote and facilitate the thinking process.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all the students involved in the data collection of the study, especially the five students who volunteered to offer help as subjects. I am grateful to Professor Shinto Eguchi of The Institute of Statistical Mathematics, Tokyo for his specialist help and advice on the data analysis, to Peter Brown and Tricia Hedge for their help in revising earlier drafts, and Kia Karavas for her help in collecting data. I would also like to express special thanks to Mary G. Noguchi for her encouraging editorial help and to the two anonymous readers for their helpful criticisms and comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

REFERENCES

Azuma, S. (1987). Conversational Code-switching in Japanese/English: A Study on Japanese Americans. *Jacet Bulletin* , 18, pp. 1-19.

Beardsmore, H.B. (1986). *Bilingualism: Basic Principles*. 2nd ed. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Collin, B. (1993). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cook, V. (1993). *Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition*. London: The Macmillan Press.

Cumming, A. (1989). Writing Expertise and Second Language Proficiency. *Language Learning*, 39, pp. 81-141.

Fotos, S. (1995). Japanese-English Conversational Codeswitching in Balanced and Limited Proficiency Bilinguals. *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism*, 1, pp. 2-15.

Fotos, S. (1996). Language Choice as Strategy in an EFL Classroom Discourse Community. Presentation abstract for the conference of the American Association for Applied Linguistics in March, 1996.

Friedlander, A. (1990). Composing in English: Effects of a First Language on Writing in English as a Second Language. In B. Kroll (ed.). *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom* (pp. 109-125). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. (1976). *The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-switching*. Working Papers of the Language Behavior Research Laboratory, 46. Berkeley: University of California.

Hayes, J. and Flower, L.S. (1983). Uncovering Cognitive Processes in Writing: An Introduction to Protocol Analysis. In P. Mosenthal, L. Tamar and S.A. Walmsley (eds.). *Research on Writing: Principles and Methods* (pp. 207-220). New York: Longman

Johns, A.M. (1990). L1 Composition Theories: Implications for Developing Theories of L2 Composition. In B. Kroll (ed.). *Second Language Writing: Research Insight for the Classroom*, (pp 24-36). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, S. and Tetroe, J. (1983). Composing in a Second Language. In A. Matsuhashi (ed.) *Writing in Real Time* (pp. 34-57). New York: Longman.

Kobayashi, H. and Rinnert, C. (1992). Effects of First Language on Second Language Writing: Translation Versus Direct Composition. *Language Learning*, 42, pp. 183-215.

Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics Across Cultures*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.

Lay, N.D. (1982). Composing Processes of Adult ESL Learners: A Case Study. *TESOL Quarterly*, 16, pp. 406.

Merritt, M., Cleghorn, A., Abagi, J.O., and Bunyi, G. (1992). Socializing Multilingualism: Determinants of Codeswitching in Kenyan Primary Classrooms. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, pp. 103-121.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Comparing Codeswitching and Borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, pp. 19-40.

Nishimura, M. (1986). Intrasentential Code-switching: The Case of Language Assignment. In J. Vaid. (ed.) *Language Processing in Bilinguals: Psycholinguistic and Neuropsychological Perspectives* (pp 123-143). Hillsdale, NJ.: Erlbaum.

Nishimura, M. (1995). A Functional Analysis of Japanese/English Code-switching. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 23, pp. 157-181.

O'Malley, J.M., Chamot, A.U., Stewner-Manzares, G., Russo, R.P. and Kupper, L. (1985). Learning Strategies Used by Beginning and Intermediate ESL Students, *Language Learning*, 35, pp. 21-46.

O'Malley, J.M. and Chamot, A.U. (1990). *Learning Strategies in Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en espanol: Toward a Typology of Code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18, pp. 581-618.

Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *IRAL*, 10, pp. 219-231.

Spack, R. (1984). Invention Strategies and the ESL College Composition Student. *TESOL Quarterly*, 18, pp. 649-670.

University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) (1990). *IELTS Assessment Guide to the Writing Test*. Cambridge: UCLES.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1962). *Thought and Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Weissberg, B. (1994). Speaking of Writing: Some Functions of Talk in the ESL Composition Class. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 3, pp. 121-139

Wicox, R. R. (1996). *Statistics for the Social Sciences*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Yoon, K. K. (1992). New Perspectives on Intrasentential Code-switching: A Study of Korean-English Switching. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 13, pp. 433-449.

Zamel, V. (1982). Writing: The Process of Discovering Meaning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 16, pp. 195-209.

A Study of the Initial Codeswitching Stage in the Linguistic Development of an English-Japanese Bilingual Child

Peter John Wanner

Faculty of Engineering and Design, Division of Liberal Arts, Kyoto Institute of Technology, Matsugasaki, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606

There are two common theories concerning language acquisition of more than one language during infancy. The first claims that infants can not differentiate two different languages and therefore develop general specifications. The second claims that infants can differentiate between two languages and therefore have fixed specifications. An alternate theory maintains that some specifications are fixed and some specifications are generalized. This study is the second part of a longitudinal study to determine the language acquisition process for initial differentiation of languages contextually. This study analyzes language differentiation for an English and Japanese bilingual child between 1;9-1;10. The subject was observed in the home with sporadic video coverage and family diaries. This study concludes that the subject shows linguistic differentiation and initial contextual differentiation based on language dominance. Furthermore, this study indicates that Japanese and English are fixed specifications linguistically, but take on general specifications contextually through interaction in the environment.

<E-J バイリンガル幼児の言語発達課程における初めのコード切り換え>

幼児期における1カ国以上の言語習得に関しては，2つの代表的な理論がある．第1の理論は，幼児は2つの異なる言語を区別できず，それゆえ「一般的指示能力」（General specification）を発達させると主張する．第2の理論は，幼児は2つの言語を区別し，それゆえ「固定的指示能力」（Fixed specification）を持つと主張する．これらに代わる主張として，固定的な指示能力もあれば，一般的な指示能力も存在するという見解があげられる．本研究は，幼児が文脈に即して言語を区別し始める過程を明らかにする狙いをもつが，報告者がこの目的で始めた長期研究の2つ目の論文に相当する．この研究では，日本語と英語を併用する1才9カ月から1才10カ月にかけての子どもにとっての言語区別の能力を分析した．被験者は家庭の中でビデオを用いて観察したが，家族の日記も参考にした．その結果，被験者は「言語の優勢」(Language dominance) にもとづいて言語の区別を行ったり，初めて文脈に従って言語を区別できるようになること，が明らかになった．さらにこの研究では，被験者にとり日本語と英語は言語的に固定的指示機能をもつことが示されたが，環境における相互の影響を通じて文脈の上では一般的指示機能を帯びることも確認された．

INTRODUCTION

Two major models have been advanced concerning the acquisition of more than one language during infancy. The first, which is referred to as the unitary language system hypothesis or the one-system hypothesis, claims that infants cannot differentiate between two different languages and therefore develop general specifications that they apply to both (Leopold, 1978; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978). The theory is that very young bilinguals are not aware of the existence of two different linguistic systems until they undergo a process of language differentiation during which two separate systems are formed--usually during their second year, about the time they move from one-word to two-word utterances. In support of this hypothesis, researchers point to the fact that almost all children learning two languages simultaneously mix them on the phonological, lexical and syntactic levels. (Swain & Wesche, 1975; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978; Redlinger & Park, 1980).

The second theory of bilingual first-language acquisition claims that infants can distinguish between two languages and therefore develop fixed specifications for each language (Lindholm & Padilla, 1978, as explained in Genesee et al, 1995). This theory is supported by recent research indicating that children are able to differentiate between two languages during the one-word stage and use them appropriately with different interlocutors before the age of two (Genesee, 1989; DeHower, 1990; Meisel, 1990; Lanza, 1992, Genesee, et al, 1995; Pearson, et al, 1995; Quay, 1995). These studies suggest that the language mixing common in young bilinguals may be attributed to other factors, including differences in proficiency in the languages (dominance in one), preferences for one language over the other, and the mixing of the two languages in the input the child receives (Genesee, et al, 1995).

Karmiloff-Smith (1992) developed a third model that blends these two dominant hypotheses into one called "representational redescription," which she defines as "explicit knowledge in the mind that develops from implicit information in the mind, first within a domain and then sometimes across domains" (p. 18). She offers evidence that bilinguals have fixed specifications in some areas (i.e. phonetics) and general specifications in other areas (i.e.. contextualization, or the use of each language predominantly with speakers of that language).

The present study examines the language acquisition of a Japanese-English bilingual child in light of these three models, focussing on when and how development of his codeswitching strategies

started in relation to formal aspects of his languages and contextual variables. At the time this study was being conducted, no longitudinal studies on early codeswitching by young children had been published. However, in 1995, Quay published the results of a longitudinal study that provided evidence of early codeswitching through analysis of translation equivalents (TEs) and their relationship to vocabulary growth and mean length utterances. My own study, however, is the first longitudinal study which attempts to provide concrete evidence of when and how codeswitching began in relation to other facets of the subject's linguistic development, including the types of speech patterns used, the level of growth in the subject's vocabulary and the use of translation equivalents at the time.

Before getting into the study itself, I would like to offer a brief overview of the phenomenon known as codeswitching and research concerning it to date.

CODESWITCHING BY INFANTS

Codeswitching is defined as the alternate use of languages or mixing of languages in discourse. It is now recognized as a linguistic strategy used in communication by bilingual children and adults. Nonetheless, the mixing of linguistic elements by infants in the one-word stage of production was not traditionally considered to be codeswitching. Instead, it was regarded as evidence of lack of linguistic proficiency or a lack of awareness of the existence of two languages rather than application of a linguistic strategy. Until recently, codeswitching strategies were thought to develop only after the bilingual has entered the two-word production stage, usually around the age of three (Swain & Wesche, 1975; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978; Redlinger & Park, 1980; and Arnberg, 1987). However, a number of recent studies have shown that young children can differentiate between two languages during the one-word stage and use them appropriately with interlocutors from different language groups before the age of two--that is, they can codeswitch (Genesee, 1989; DeHower, 1990; Meisel, 1990; Lanza, 1992; Genesee, 1995; Pearson et al, 1995; Quay 1995).

The social motivations for codeswitching have been attributed to heuristic constructs of situational and metaphorical switching (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Situational codeswitching takes place when a speaker moves from one code to another because of a change in topic, place, purpose, or the person involved in the conversation. For example, a Japanese-American bilingual may speak Japanese to Japanese people and English to Americans of non-Japanese ancestry. When speaking to another Japanese-American, s/he may use Japanese to talk about Japanese food or celebrations or even family affairs, but switch to English to talk about events in the broader American community or current news.

In contrast, metaphorical codeswitching takes place without a change in situation. The change of code is essentially carried out to draw attention to or to emphasize some element in the discourse. For example, the same Japanese-American, when talking to another bilingual Japanese-American in English, might switch to Japanese to add emphasis to certain words or phrases. Bilinguals also may relate incidents in one language and frame them (giving objective background information, etc.) in another.

Meyers-Scotton (1993) developed a model of codeswitching that claims a speaker has a choice between a certain degree of "unmarked" and "marked" codes. She defines unmarked codes as usual or expected choices of communication based on rights and obligations, while marked codes are not the expected choice within the rights and obligations of the speakers.

Since children's early discourse tends to be focused on the 'here and now,' the codeswitching that is the focus of this study consists of unmarked code use with family members who predominantly use one language with the child. In other words, the subject is codeswitching to deal with the expectations of the person or people he is talking to, not to highlight something he is saying.

Quantitative measurements of linguistic production and the degrees of codeswitching used have been made to determine the characteristics of the development of the subject's situational codeswitching. Following Lanza's argument that analyzing interactions with people other than the subject's parents provides a better understanding of language mixing within the process of language socialization (Lanza, 1992), this study analyzes interactions in an extended family consisting of the Japanese mother, American father, and Japanese grandmother and grandfather of the bilingual child.

STUDY

This is the second part of a longitudinal study of the subject's bilingual first-language acquisition. The first part of this study, which is reported in a paper scheduled for publication in early 1997, followed the subject through three preliminary developmental stages that formed the linguistic foundation necessary for the subject to begin codeswitching contextually. The first developmental period (1;0 - 1;6) was the proto word stage, in which it was found that the subject was dominant in English and could differentiate English from Japanese phonetically, but did not realize what the vocalizations

symbolized. Moreover, he could not differentiate his two languages contextually, that is, use Japanese with Japanese speakers and English with English speakers. The second stage (1;7-1;8) was a period of over generalization. English was still dominant, but there was linguistic evidence for the subject differentiating between the two languages. However, the subject did not differentiate the words in social context, possibly because of lexical gaps. The third stage (1;8-1;9) was the accelerated linguistic production stage. English and Japanese vocabulary variance was less than 14% for 26 words, indicating that the subject's proficiency in his two languages had become balanced. Nonetheless, he did not limit the use of English to English interlocutors and Japanese to Japanese interlocutors. Thus, it was maintained that the child could differentiate between his two languages linguistically but not contextually.

During the month-long period which is the focus of this paper, the subject acquired some translation equivalents (TEs) in his lexicon; that is, he began using two words--one in Japanese and one in English--to symbolize the same thing (Volterra & Taeschner, 1978). He also began codeswitching contextually, using predominantly Japanese with Japanese speakers and predominantly English with his English-speaking father.

This paper will analyze this stage of the subject's bilingual development to determine whether the process conforms to the one-system, two-system or representational redescription model of bilingual language acquisition. It will also try to provide concrete evidence of when and how codeswitching began in relation to other facets of the subject's linguistic development, including the types of speech patterns used, the level of growth in the subject's vocabulary and the use of translation equivalents.

METHOD

The subject of this study is the researcher's son, Jessie. The child was living in Japan at the time of the study and had been exposed to both languages since birth. His American father usually spoke to him in English, and his Japanese mother, grandmother, and grandfather always spoke to him in Japanese. All members of this extended family lived in the same household. Both parents are bilingual, advanced (L2) level by ACTFL guidelines, who use English as their main medium of communication within the nuclear family in the home. Japanese is the main medium of communication when all the members of the extended family interact together or when the parents are not the only two people who are communicating with each other.

This is the second part of a longitudinal study of Jessie's bilingual first-language acquisition. (A report of the first part is scheduled to be published in early 1997). A total of sixty minutes of video tape and audio recordings were collected every two weeks at sporadic times during the periods covered in the first and second parts of this study. These recordings averaged about 15 minutes each. Recordings were usually made in the home, during spontaneous interactions consisting mostly of two main activities: free play and book-related play. Other activities covered in the recordings include meal times and times when the subject was getting ready to go on outings. The recordings, including everything that was said by the adults present, were transcribed and contextual notes on the behavior of the child (i.e., eye movement, facial gestures, pointing, grasping, etc.) were also recorded. Transcriptions were made by a native Japanese speaker and native English speaker. The IPA system was used to transcribe all utterances by the child in order to capture his phonological mixing. Conventional orthography was used to transcribe the parents' and grandparents' speech unless there was phonological mixing, in which case, the IPA system was used. [Editor's note: we have tried to follow the IPA system as closely as possible in printing this paper, but unfortunately, we were not able to reproduce all the symbols accurately. Any discrepancy is the result of printing problems, not author error.] The few cases of disagreement between the two transcribers were resolved by repeated viewing of the tapes. In addition to the record of the video and audio recordings, diaries were kept by both parents and the grandmother; in them they made a list of all new words and vocalizations between 1;0 and 1;10. This data was used to supplement data collected from the video tapes.

The present paper analyzes the recordings from 1;9(0), 1;9(3), 1;9(15), 1.9(16), 1;9(18), 1;9(21), 1;9(26), and 1;9(27). It was felt that in this one-month period, linguistic and social considerations would not be too broad. Moreover, this period was chosen for particular attention because it was the period in which the subject began simple codeswitching to match the interlocutor, indicating contextual differentiation of his two languages for the first time.

ANALYSIS

To determine formal aspects of the subject's linguistic differentiation and dominance, this study first analyzed Jessie's lexicon and his mixing within one-word, two-word, and multi-word utterances.

TABLE 1. Lexicon for Stage 3 (1;8-1;9)

Age at Acquisition Year;Month(Day)	English Words	Age at Acquisition Year;Month(Day)	Japanese Words
1;7(4)	[dædæ] [dædo ŋ] 'Dada'	1;7(4)	[ampa ŋ] 'Anpanman' (A Japanese cartoon character) *
	[daun] 'down'	1;7(18)	[awa ŋ] (dog)
1;7(12)	[pændə] 'panda'		[wa ŋ] (dog sound)
	[mama] 'Mama'*	1;7(22)	[aiai] (monkey sound)
1;7(22)	[no] 'no'	1;8(3)	[nyanya ŋ] (cat sound)
	[nʌn] 'none'		[baba ŋ] 'Grandma' (Kyushu dialect)
1;8(2)	[mæn] 'man'	1;8(13)	[to ɣ i] 'bird'
	[pudI ŋ] 'pudding'		[uma] 'horse'
	[bal] 'ball'		[taki] (*takibi*) 'fire /stove'
1;8(13)	[ʌp] 'up'		[nene] (cat sound)
1;8(14)	[blu] 'blue'	1;8(14)	[hai] 'yes'
	[æpəl] 'apple'		[ki ɣ ai] 'dislike'
	[ɔ f] 'off'		
	[ɔ n] 'on'		
	[bai] 'bye'*		
	[h ɔ t] 'hot'		
	[bito ŋ] 'beet'		
Total	15 (51.7%)	Total	11 (38.0%)

* Japanese-English cognates (English words borrowed for regular use in Japanese) and proper nouns were not classified as English or Japanese. They accounted for 10.3% of the total number of words in the subject's lexicon at this point.

In analyzing the child's lexicon, the researcher decided not to use a standardized parent report instrument because this would limit the possible words produced by the subject. Instead, all Japanese and English utterances of the subject recorded on the video tapes and in the parents' and grandmother's diaries were transferred to a journal. Table 1 shows the subject's lexicon at the beginning of the period under discussion in this paper.

As can be seen in the table, at the inception of this study the child had a lexicon of 15 English words (51.7%) and 11 Japanese words (38.0%), as well as two Japanese-English cognates (*mama* and *bye*) borrowed from English for use in Japanese as well. Such borrowed words were not included in the word counts for either language. Proper names such as Ampanman (the name of a cartoon character) and Japanese particles (case markers such as *wa, ga, de, wo* and *ni*) were also excluded from the word counts for the individual languages in compiling the lexicons during the course of the study. After each videotaping session, new words that had been produced were recorded in the journal. Words acquired during the period under study are shown in Table 2.

As the first step in analyzing code mixing by the child, mixing within single words (e.g., [d ædoŋ] 'Dada' for Daddy) was noted in the lexicons by using bold face print to indicate phonological elements from one language mixed into words of the other language. Later on, the degrees of phonological mixing within words and speech patterns were observed as measures of linguistic dominance.

After each lexicon was compiled, the English and Japanese words were compared to determine translation equivalents (TEs), such as "none" and "*nai*", "ear" *and "mimi"*. The use of TEs can be considered evidence of awareness of the existence of different languages, while the rejection of TEs

was cited by Volterra & Taeschner (1978) to support the unitary language hypothesis (explained in Pearson, et al,1995). As can be seen in Table 1, there were no TEs in the subject's lexicon at the beginning of this period in his linguistic development. The first TEs were discovered in the recording of 1;9(0): the word sun and its Japanese equivalent *taiyo* (mispronounced by the subject as taiyo ɣi) . Other TEs and the dates of acquisition are shown in Table 3.

Analysis then moved beyond the word level. The main unit of coding was the utterance. An utterance is defined by Lanza as "a word or group of consecutive words between pauses" (1992, p 638). Utterances were recorded following the transcription and recording devices used by Genesee et al (1995). 'Mean length utterances' (MLU), 'upper bound utterances' (UB), and 'multimorphemic units' (MMU) were also calculated following procedures described in Genesee et al (1995). Speech patterns in multi-word utterances were divided into five categories: Japanese patterns ([Anpanman nai] 'Anpanman isn't here.'), English patterns ([bal rol] 'The ball rolls.'), simultaneous use of TEs ([nʌn nai] 'none, none'), patterns combining words in one language with Japanese-English cognates ([mama kabaŋ] 'Mama's bag') and other mixed patterns ([babaŋ hæt] 'Grandma's hat'). To provide information on the types of items switched, the distribution of words in each grammatical category was then analyzed.

In addition to this extensive analysis of the formal aspects of the subject's code mixing, a contextual analysis was also conducted by examining the relationship between the words produced and the context in which they were used, with particular attention paid to the interlocutor in each case. A patterned speech analysis was performed on data from the video tapes and the adult's notes to determine their relationship to the interlocutor's native language. (Patterned speech is defined as "something more than one word and less than syntax" [Dore, Franklin, Miller, & Ramer, 1976]). The frequency and direction of switches according to interlocutor were recorded to determine the degree of contextual differentiation and contextual dominance. Utterances with contextual evidence, making it difficult to determine the direction of switches to specific interlocutors in the group, were recorded as utterances directed toward all members.

Finally, the results of this analysis were examined in light of the three models of bilingual first-language acquisition explained in the introduction to see if they conform to any of these models. The results are presented and discussed below.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

During the one-month period under study, the subject produced 31 new English words and 37 new Japanese words. These words and the times of their acquisition are shown in Table 2. With the 68 words shown in Table 2 added to the 26 words acquired during the first part of the study (1;0 - 1;9), the subject's total lexicon at the end of the period had expanded to 94 words.

As mentioned above, the subject's pronunciation was recorded using the IPA system so that even though the lexicon was divided according to language, phonological mixing could be noted. A summary of the mixing that occurred within words appears in Table 3. Because it was felt that mixing may be induced by context, the interlocutor was also noted. As can be seen in the table, all of the mixing at this level occurred in English words and most (60%) during conversation with the subject's father. Possible reasons for these trends will be suggested later when we consider the influence of contextual factors on the subject's language production.

It was at the beginning of this period that the first set of translation equivalents (sun/*taiyo*) appeared in the lexicon. Interestingly, these words were not used at separate times in different contexts; they were produced during the course of a single conversation in which it can be clearly seen that Jessie was aware that they meant the same thing. The relevant part of the conversation, as recorded on video tape and later transcribed, is shown here as Example 1.

Example 1: 1;9(0) Transcription of video tape showing initial use of TEs used synonymously

Setting: Jessie is looking at a book with pictures of the sun and moon in it while sitting on his training potty. His grandmother is holding the book while squatting down in front of him. Both his father and grandmother are asking him questions about the pictures of the sun and the moon in the book.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Jessie	[mu n] /moon/ 'moon'	Pointing to the picture of the moon as his grandmother opens up a book with a picture of the moon in it
Grandmother	Mo ikkai iute, doozo? once more say please 'Can you say that once more please?'	Asking Jessie to repeat

Jessie:	[mu:n] /moon/ 'moon'	Pointing to the moon
	[sʌn] /sun/ 'sun'	Pointing to the sun with a big gleam of pleasure coming over his face
Father:	What does mama call it, Jessie?	Looking at the opened book
Grandmother:	Mama ga iuta? /mama SUB say/ What does mama say?	Looking at the opened book still in her hand
Jessie:	[sʌn] /sun/ 'sun'	Pointing to the sun
	[mu:n] /moon/ 'moon'	Pointing to the moon
Father:	What does mama call it?	Looking at the opened book
Jessie:	[taiyo ɣ i] /*taiyo* (sun)/ 'sun'	Pointing at the moon
Grandmother:	Mama wa? /mama TOP/ 'What does mama say?'	Pointing to the moon
Jessie:	[mama] /mama/ 'mama'	Pauses and thinks
	[mu:n] /moon/ 'moon'	Pointing to the moon
Grandmother:	Mama? /mama/ 'mama'	Pointing to the opposite page where the picture of the sun is
Jessie:	[taiyo ɣ i] /*taiyo* (sun)/ 'sun'	Pointing to the sun with a beam of joy expressed on his face

Note: In this and later examples, the first line of Jessie's utterances shows the IPA transcription, the second, a word gloss between slashes and the third, the presumed meaning in English. For Grandmother's utterances, capital letters are used to indicate Japanese particle functions in the word gloss on the second line (SUB= subject marker, TOP = topic marker, QUEST = question marker and END= end marker). Note that Jessie has only approximated the conventional pronunciation of the Japanese equivalent of sun (*taiyo*).

In this exchange, it appears that at first the subject could not distinguish between the pictures of the sun and moon, perhaps because both are round and the only difference is the color. In the end, however, he does use both the English and Japanese words for the same picture of the sun, indicating that he realizes they mean the same thing. Moreover, as we will see in Example 2, only two days later, the subject again connected these TEs while looking at the same picture. In the second exchange, he also gave a clear indication of his awareness that they were from two different languages by coupling the Japanese word with "Mama", the parent who would use that word with him.

TABLE 2. Lexicon for Initial Codeswitching Stage (1;9-1;10)

Age at Acquisition	English Words	Age at Acquisition	Japanese Words
1;9(0)	[miau ɳ] 'meow' (cat sound)	1;9(0)	[wani] 'alligator'
	[sʌn] 'sun'		[gak:o] 'school'
	[mu:n] 'moon'		[ki ɾ i ɳ] 'giraffe'
	[sneik] 'snake'		[ki:ɾ o] 'yellow'
	[flaur] 'flower'		[taiyo ɾ ī] (*taiyo*) 'sun'
	[ai] 'I'		[ame] 'rain'
	[hæt] 'hat'	1;9(3)	[kotʃ] 'here'
	[fon] 'phone'	1;9(15)	[kame] 'turtle'
1;9(3)	[gorIlə] 'gorilla'		[hebi] 'snake'
	[bʌbəl] 'bubble'		[i:e] 'no'
1;9(16)	[hom] 'home'	1;9(16)	[so ɾ e] 'that'
	[bæt] [bæto] 'bat'		[mimi] 'ear'
	[laiən] 'lion'		[no] (possessive particle)*
	[g ɛ t] 'get'		[unko] 'poop'
	[hir] 'here'		[mo:] 'again'
	[ir] 'ear'		[nai] 'none'
1;9(18)	[d ʒ ɛ ʃ i] 'Jessie' (Name of subject) *		[i:] 'good'
	[baibi] 'baby'		[yo] (emphatic particle) *
	[hup] 'hoop'		[mo ɾ ī] 'forest'
	[pIlo] 'pillow'	1;9(18)	[pan] 'bread'
	[or ɛ nd ʒ] 'orange'		[oba ɳ] 'Grandma'
	[hIp:o] 'hippo'		[ao] 'blue'
	[mʌnki] 'monkey'		[kokekoko] (rooster sound)
	[k ɛ r ɔ to] 'carrot'		[bu:] (sound of passing gas)
1;9(21)	[farmər] 'farmer'		[onaka] 'stomach'
	[zIpa] 'zipper'		[tʃiku ɳ] (poking sound)
	[horsi] 'horse'		[daiko ɳ] 'horseradish'
	[d ɔ g] 'dog'		[oiʃi:] 'delicious'
	[kau] 'cow'		[kaba ɳ] 'bag'
	[maufu ɳ] 'mouse'		[nai, nai] 'clean up'
	[rol] 'roll'		[eto ɳ] (*eto*) 'well'
1;9(27)	[mu:u: ɳ] 'moo' (cow sound)	1;9(26)	[kawa] 'skin'

TABLE 2. (Continued)

		[aʃ ī] 'leg'
		[i ɣ oi ɣ o] (Japanese cartoon character)*
		[sukoʃ ī] 'little'
		[muʃ ī] 'bug'
		[mot:o] 'more'
		[oto] 'sound'
		[mika ŋ] 'tangerine'
		[gotʃiso] 'dinner'
Total	31 (43.0%)	37 (51.4%)

* Japanese-English cognates (English words borrowed for regular use in Japanese) were not classified as English or Japanese. Proper nouns and Japanese particles were not included in the total number of words either. These excluded words accounted for 5.6% of the total number of words in the subject's lexicon at this point.

TABLE 3. Phonological Mixing During Initial Codeswitching Stage (1;9-1;10)

Interlocutor	Utterance	N	% of Total Utterances
Father	[miau ŋ] '[miau]' 'sound of a cat'	1	.7%
Father	[bæto] 'bat'	1	.7%
Father	[k ɛ r ɔ to] 'carrot'	1	.7%
Father	[mu:u: ŋ] 'sound of a cow'	1	.7%
Father	[p ʊ dI ŋ] 'pudding'	1	.7%
Father	[bito ŋ] 'beet'	1	.7%
Mother	[dædo ŋ] 'dada'	1	.7%
Mother	[p ʊ ɑI ŋ] 'pudding'	2	1.4%
Grandmother	[dædo n] 'dada'	1	.7 %
Total Phonologically Mixed Utterances		10	7.0%

Notes: N=number of phonologically mixed one-word utterances recorded from video. Percentages are rounded off to nearest tenth

Example 2 1;9(2) Transcription of video tape showing linkage of same TEs and awareness of relationship of one with a specific interlocutor

Setting Jessie is with his grandmother in the kitchen, where she is preparing some food. Jessie is on the floor looking at a book. It is opened to a place where pictures of the sun and moon appear on facing pages. This is the same picture of the sun as in Example 1.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Grandmother:	*taiyo* /sun/ 'sun'	Looking down at the picture of the sun and pointing at it
Father	sun	Sitting next to his son and looking at the book
Jessie	[mama taiyo ɣ iyo ɣ i] /mama *taiyo* (sun)/ 'Mama calls it *taiyo*'	Looking at the picture and then looking up towards his father while pointing to the picture of the sun

In Example 2, although his father uses the English word, the subject refers to his mother and uses the Japanese equivalent. Thus the subject differentiates between what his mother calls the sun and what his father calls it. It should be noted that since the subject's parents use English as their main medium of communication within the nuclear family, Jessie has probably heard his mother say [s ʌn] when talking with the father. Nonetheless, he identifies the Japanese word [taiyo] with what his mother calls the sun. This can be seen as indicative of awareness that Japanese is his mother's native tongue.

Development of this awareness of the existence of two languages can be seen in the subsequent acquisition of more pairs of translation equivalents. As shown in Table 4, between 1;9-1;10 the subject produced 7 pairs of TEs.

TABLE 4. Translation Equivalents Acquired Between 1;9-1;10

Age at Acquisition	English Word	Age at Acquisition	Japanese Word
1;9(0)	[s ʌ n] 'sun'	1;9(0)	[taiyo ɤ i] (taiyo), 'sun'
1;7(22)	[no] 'no'	1;9(15)	[i:e] 'no'
1:9(0)	[sneik] 'snake	1;9(15)	[hebi] 'hebi'
1;7(22)	[n ʌ n] 'none'	1;9(16)	[nai] 'none'
1;9(16)	[ir] 'ear'@	1;9(16)	[mimi] 'ear'@
1;8(14)	[blu] 'blue'	1;9(18)	[ao] 'blue'
1;9(21)	[horsi] 'horse'	1;8(13)	[uma] 'horse'

* Times of word acquisition indicate when they were recorded on video tape unless the word is followed by the @ mark, in which case it was recorded in one of the diaries.

Although the existence of these TEs in the subject's lexicon might be interpreted as a sign of differentiation of his two languages, it is also conceivable that the subject could use TEs without understanding that they are synonymous. Thus, it is not until we look at the context of the discourse and analyze the subject's multi-word utterances that we can be sure whether he is aware of and differentiates between the two languages in his environment.

We will therefore move into a more general discussion of the subject's discourse. As explained above, the main unit of coding in this study was the utterance, as defined by Lanza. Multi-word speech patterns recorded during this period are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Multi-Word Speech Patterns Exhibited During Initial Codeswitching Stage

Time	Utterance	Time	Utterance
1;9(6)/1;9(15)/	[n ʌ n nai]	1;9(16)	[no i:e]
1;9(16)	none none		no no
	ADV ADV		ADV ADV
	'none none'		'no no'
1;9(15)	[daiko ɾi no i:]	1;9(16)	[mo i: yo ko]
	horseradish PART good		already good PART
	N PART A		ADV ADJ PART
	'Horseradish is good.'		'It is already good.'

TABLE 5. (Continued)

1;9(16)	[so ɣ e wa mo ɣ i]	1;9(16)	[mama kaba ŋ]
	that PART forest		Mama bag
	N PART N		N N
	'That is a forest.'		'Mama's bag'
1;9(16)	[mu:n hom]	1;9(17)*	[mimi ir]
	moon home		ear ear
	N N		N N
	'The moon went to his home'		'ear ear'
1;9(18)	[mama hæt]	1;9(18)	[baba ŋ hæt]
	Mama hat		Grandma hat
	N N		N N
	'Mama's hat'		'Grandma's hat'
1;9(18)	[d ʒ ɛ ʃi hæt]	1;9(18)	[dædæ pIlo]
	Jessie hat		Dada pillow
	N N		N N
	'Jessie's hat'		'Dada's pillow'
1;9(21)	[no nai]	1;9(26)	[dædæ wama]
	no, none		Dada Wanner
	N ADV		N N
	'no none'		'Dada Wanner'
1;9(26)	[ampa ŋ ma ŋ nai]	1;9(26)	[bal rol]
	Anpanman not here		ball roll
	N ADV		N V
	'Anpanman is not here'		'The ball is rolling.
1;9(27)	[dædæ oto]	1:9(27)	[mot:o oto]
	Dada sound		more sound
	N N		ADV N
	'Dada's sound (voice)'		'There is more sound.'
1;9(27)	[aʃ i bal]	1;9(30)	[goʧ iso oto]
	foot ball		delicious meal sound
	N N		N N
	'My foot will kick the ball.'		'sound of cooking.'

* Recorded from diary.

To give an indication of the stage of the development of the subject's languages, the lengths of the subject's utterances were noted and recorded according to the interlocuter and the language used. The mean length of utterances (MLU) was then calculated for comparative purposes using the procedures described in Genesee et al (1995). The results are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6. Mean Length Utterances (MLU) During Initial Codeswitching Stage

	One-Word Utterances			Two-Word Utterances			
Interlocutor	English	Japanese	Other	English	Japanese	Other	Total
Father	54	16	13	20	2	10	115
Mother	4	18	8	0	8	7	45
Grandmother	5	18	4	0	8	8	43
Grandfather	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Group	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total Utterances	63	54	25	20	18	25	207
Total Words	63	54	25	40	36	54	272
Mean Length Utterance							1.31

Table 6 shows that the MLU for the subject during initial code switching was 1.31. Furthermore, Table 5 shows that there were only two MMU produced by the child (i.e. daikoh no ii). Table A in the Appendix indicates that the UB (Upper Bound Utterances) was 2 words. Hence, the subject is only starting to produce word constructions of more than one word, and the period under study was one of transition from one-word to two-word utterances.

Code-mixing at the utterance level was then examined by looking at speech patterns in multi-word utterances. Videotaped utterances were divided into five categories: Japanese patterns, English patterns, simultaneous use of TEs, patterns combining words in one language with Japanese-English cognates, and other mixed patterns. The results are tabulated in Table 7.

TABLE 7. Speech Patterns of Multi-Word Utterances During the Initial Codeswitching Stage

	One-Language		Mixed Language			
Interlocutor	English	Japanese	Simultaneous TEs	Cognate Combinations	Other Mixes	Total
Father	20(62.5%)	2(6.3%)	6(18.7%)	0(0.0%)	4(12.5%)	32(100%)
Mother	0(0.0%)	8(53.3%)	2(13.3%)	2(13.3%)	3(20.0%)	15(100%)
Grandmother	0(0.0%)	8(50.0%)	3(18.8%)	4(25.0%)	1(6.3%)	16(100%)
Grandfather	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
Group	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	2(100%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	2(100%)
Total Patterns	20(30.8%)	18(27.7%)	13(20.0%)	6(9.2%)	8(12.3%)	65(100%)

*Percentages are rounded off to the nearest tenth

The emergence of speech patterns in which TEs are produced simultaneously is significant because it indicates that the subject realizes that they signify the same thing. More than the isolated use of TEs, simultaneous use provides clear indication that the subject sees these Japanese and English words as synonymous. Table 7 shows that TEs are used simultaneously a total of 13 times during the period in question, and that 20% of all speech patterns exhibited between 1;9-1;10 involve simultaneous use of TEs. Moreover, there were other utterances featuring simultaneous TEs that were recorded in the diaries but not on tape (i.e. [mimi ir]). Table A in the Appendix offers proof of the prevalence of this speech pattern: out of 207 recorded utterances directed toward the specified interlocutors during the period in question, 13 (6.3 %) employed TEs simultaneously.

It should be stressed that before 1;9 the subject didn't produce any TEs. Simultaneous use of TEs first occurred when the subject said, "[nʌn, nai]" at 1;9(6) and then again at 1;9(15) (Examples 3

and 4, respectively.) The utterance [nʌn, nai] accounted for 7 out of 207 recorded utterances with the specified interlocutors (3.4 %). Examples 3 and 4 present the initial observation of equivalent forms used simultaneously.

Example 3: 1;9(6) Transcription of video tape showing first simultaneous production of TEs ([nʌn, nai])

Setting: Jessie is in the kitchen, sitting in his high chair and drinking some milk. His father, mother and grandmother are sitting at the table eating, also.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Jessie:	[nʌn, nai] /none, none/ 'none, none'	after looking into the cup and seeing it is empty, hands the cup to his father while addressing him and gazing into his father's eyes

When this video segment is viewed, it seems clear that the subject is addressing his father, although his mother and grandmother are also present. In Table A in the Appendix, this was therefore included in utterances addressed to his father. However the question arises, why did the subject use both [nʌn] and [nai] while directing his gaze to his father?

Now let us turn to Example 4, where the same TEs are used.

Example 4: 1;9(15) Diary record of the utterance of [nʌn, nai]

Setting: Jessie is in the room with his father, mother, and grandmother, who are discussing something while Jessie is playing with some pots and pans on the floor.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Jessie:	[nʌn, nai] /none, none/ 'none, none'	picking up an empty pan and holding it out towards where his parents and grandmother are talking, trying to get their attention.

In this example, it is difficult to determine who is being addressed; the child could be addressing any or all of the adults sitting at the table nearby. Hence, in Table A in the Appendix, this is classified as an utterance directed toward the group. With this example, we are still left with the question of why the subject used TEs in the same utterance, that is, why he followed an English word with its Japanese equivalent.

One hypothesis is that the subject was using both the English word [nʌn] and the Japanese word [nai] to address all the members of the family. This hypothesis is supported by Example 4, in which the subject appears to have awareness of all the members in the environment because he is looking towards a group composed of his mother, grandmother, and father. A second hypothesis, however, is that the subject is addressing only one member of the group in Example 4 --his father --whom he associates with as a bilingual. This second hypothesis could be supported by Example 3, which seems to show that the subject identifies his father as bilingual. However, it is also possible that in Example 3 the subject might have been thinking in Japanese and then switched to English after looking up at his father while holding the cup.

Another possibility is that the subject did not know which language he should use with his father and chose to use both languages to communicate his message in Example 3. Such use of both languages by a bilingual is referred to as exploratory codeswitching because the subject explores an alternate choice to determine the appropriate language to communicate in (Meyers-Scotton, 1993).

Yet another hypothesis is that there were many people in the room and the subject was not necessarily addressing only the father in Example 3. This type of language use is referred to as a change between two unmarked codes because the subject changes codes to address the other interlocutor in the appropriate language (Meyers-Scotton, 1993).

With four possible explanations of these utterances, it was felt necessary to analyze other simultaneous use of TEs by the subject. In doing so, it was found that out of 12 cases recorded on the video tapes in which the subject used Japanese and English lexical equivalents in the same utterance, there was only one instance in which the subject was alone with only one other family

member. This occurred in Example 5, in which the subject again used [n ʌn] and [nai] together to tell his father that the television was not on.

Example 5: 1;9(16) Transcription of video tape showing the utterance [nʌn, nai]

Setting: Jessie runs to his grandmother's room and goes to her bed. His father is the only one with him, following him with the video camera. Jessie then picks up the television remote control and presses it while pointing it in the direction of the TV. He looks at the television, expecting it to go on, but it doesn't because he has the control pointing towards the floor.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Jessie:	[n ʌn nʌn n ʌn nʌn] /none, none, none, none/ 'none, none, none, none'	holding the control and looking at his father
	[n ʌn,nai] /none, none/ 'none, none'	after placing the television control back on his grandmother's bed and walking out of her room and down the hallway
	[n ʌn,nai] /none, none/ 'none, none'	opening the door to his grandfather's room and, pointing to his grandmother's bedroom, addresses his grandmother, who is serving his grandfather his dinner
	[n ʌn,nai] /none, none/ 'none, none'	closes the door to his grandfather's room and, pointing towards his grandmother's bedroom, addresses his father

This example, coupled with the fact that the subject did not use TEs simultaneously with the other family members in isolated instances, can be taken as support of the hypothesis that the subject associates dual membership of the Japanese and English speech communities with his father. It also fulfills conditions that Meyers-Scotton (1993) maintains are prerequisites for unmarked codeswitching. She maintains that for this type of codeswitching to occur, both speakers must be bilingual and consider themselves as having dual membership in different speech communities. It can occur in settings such as in a family.

These examples show that the subject does have an awareness of both languages and realizes that two different lexical terms, one from each language, are TEs. Furthermore, they indicate that the subject is using codeswitching as an unmarked choice.

Now that the subject had started using TEs simultaneously, it was felt important to evaluate the relationship between this pattern and other types of two-word utterances. Table 5 is a list of Japanese and English two-word utterances produced by the subject between 1;9-1;10. First, these utterances were analyzed according to the grammatical parts of speech used. The results are shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8. Grammatical Patterns of Speech During Initial Codeswitching Stage

Grammatical Patterns	English	Japanese	Mixed	Total
N N (Possessive structure)	4(20.0%)		4 (20.0%)	8 (40.0%)
N N (Other structures)			3 (15.0%)	3 (15.0%)
N PART N		1 (5.0%)		1 (5.0%)
ADV A (Optional PART)		1 (5.0%)		1 (5.0%)
ADV ADV			2 (10.0%)	2 (10.0%)
N V	1 (5 0%)			1 (5.0%)
ADV N		1 (5.0%)		1 (5.0%)
N ADV		1 (5.0%)	1 (5.0%)	2 (10.0%)
N PART A		1 (5.0%)		1 (5.0%)
Total	5(25.0%)	5(25.0%)	10(50 0%)	20(100.0%)

It was found that 40% of these patterns were comprised of noun-plus-noun structures that were used as possessives (i.e. [d æda pɪlo] dada pillow, meaning 'Daddy's pillow"). 15% were other noun-plus-noun structures (i.e. [no nai] 'no, none'). 10% were adverb-plus-adverb structures (i.e. [nʌn, nai] 'none, none'), and another 10% were noun-plus-adverb configurations (i.e. [ampanmaɳ nai] ' Anpanman is not here'.) The rest were split evenly between noun-plus-particle-plus-noun structures (i.e. [soɾe wa moɾi] 'that (is) a forest'), adverb-plus-an-adjective plus an optional particle (i.e. [mo i: yo ko] 'it's already good'), noun-plus-verb configurations (i.e. [bal rol] 'the ball (is) rolling'), adverb-plus-noun structures (i.e. [mot:o oto] 'more sound'), and use of a noun plus a particle plus an adjective (i.e. [daikoɳ no i:] 'Daikon radish is good').

In terms of the language(s) used in two-word utterances during this period, it was found that 30.8% were both English, 27.7% were both Japanese, 20.0% were simultaneous TEs, 9.2% had Japanese-English cognates combined with words from one of the languages, and 12.3% were other mixed patterns, as seen in Table 7.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the subject's two-word utterances during this period was the relationship between the type of utterance and the interlocutor. Table 9 provides a breakdown of the subject's utterances according to interlocutor during the period in question.

TABLE 9. Total Observed Utterances Directed Toward Interlocutors During Initial Codeswitching

Father	Mother	Grandmother	Grandfather	Group	Total Turns
115(55.5%)	45(21.7%)	43(20.8%)	2(1.0%)	2(1.0%)	207(100%)

If we return to Table 7, we can analyze the relationship between the language used and the interlocutor. We find that out of a total of 32 two-word utterances directed towards the subject's father, 20 (62.5%) were comprised of two English words. Furthermore, out of all the two-word utterances that were directed towards his mother, grandmother, or grandfather, no combinations of two English words (0.0%) were produced. Hence, two-word English speech patterns were used exclusively with the subject's father. This suggests that the child distinctly limited combinations of two English words to interactions with his father, the only native English speaker in his environment. In contrast, although some combinations of two Japanese words were directed to the subject's father, they were limited to 6.3% of the total utterances directed towards him. Furthermore, out of all two-word patterns directed toward his mother and grandmother, the child used Japanese patterns for 53.3% and 50%, respectively. No two-word utterances directed to his grandfather were recorded on videotape. The remainder of the utterances directed at these interlocutors consisted of mixed patterns. This is further evidence that the child was employing unmarked codeswitching with his family members, because he identifies English and Japanese with his father, and Japanese with his mother, grandmother, and grandfather.

The subject's use of the appropriate language with different interlocutors was also indicated in the relationship between language and interlocutor in his one-word utterances during this period, as seen in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Language and Interlocutor in One-Word Utterances During Initial Codeswitching Stage

Interlocutor	English	Japanese	J-E Cognates	Phonological Mixes	Total
Father	55(66.3%)	16(19.3%)	6 (7.2%)	6(7.2%)	83(100%)
Mother	4(13.3%)	18(60.0%)	5(16.7%)	3(10.0%)	30(100%)
Grandmother	5(18.5%)	18(66.7%)	3(11.1%)	1 (3.7%)	27(100%)
Grandfather	0(0.0%)	2(100 %)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	2(100%)
Total Patterns	64(45.1%)	54(38.0%)	14(9.9%)	10(7.0%)	142(100%)

Table 10 shows that in his one-word utterances the subject reveals predominant use of appropriate language with respect to native speakers of the language. For example, only 19.3% of all one-word utterances directed toward the father are Japanese. Furthermore, only 13.3% of all one-word utterances to the mother and 18.5% of all one-word utterances to the grandmother are English. Finally, none (0%) of the one-word utterances directed towards the grandfather are English.

Having established the predominant use of appropriate language according to interlocutor, I would like to return to the subject of phonological mixing. A summary of words with phonological mixing produced between 1;9-1;10 is given in Table 3. As indicated in the table, words in which such mixing appeared comprised 7.0% of the subject's lexicon. Now, let's look at an example of the kind of context in which such mixing occurred.

Example 6: 1;9(27) Transcription of video tape showing phonological mixing ([mu:u:n] and [bitoŋ]

Setting: The father is reading a story to his son while his son is responding to the pictures in the book.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Father:	Sure. I'll help said the	reading a passage followed by a picture of a cow
Jessie:	[mu:u:ŋ] /moo (sound of a cow)/ 'moo'	looking at the picture of the miniature cow and then turning the page
Father:	Good We are on page 6 All right. What's that?	pointing to a beet in a large picture
Jessie:	[bitoŋ] /beet/ 'beet'	looking at the picture of the beet

Despite the phonological mixing present within words such as [mu:u:ŋ] and [bitoŋ] when speaking with his American father, the subject's utterance closely resembles the English words for these objects.

As we saw earlier in Table 10, the child predominantly uses English with his father (66.3% of the time). If we include all mixed utterances that contain English and Japanese-English cognates that were originally borrowed from English (7.2%), the subject's use of English with his American father rises to 73.5%. (See Table A in the Appendix). I therefore maintain that the child's use of English towards his father was dominant between 1;9-1;10.

Furthermore, it should be noted that between 1;9 and 1;10, whenever the subject used words for which he had already acquired the translation equivalent, he produced the member of the pair appropriate to the interlocutor, that is, he used the Japanese word with native speakers of Japanese and the English equivalent with his American father. For example, the subject had learned the word [uma], meaning 'horse' by 1;8(13), and by 1;9(21) he had also acquired its English TE [horsi]. (See Tables 1 and 2.) Although the Japanese TE had been acquired first, the subject used the word [horsi] with his American father. This might be attributed to the subject's imitation of his father's words immediately after they had been uttered. However, Example 7 provides further evidence that in using TEs, the subject was choosing the native language of the interlocutor.

Example 7: 1;9(26) Transcription of video tape showing phonologically mixed utterance [hebi]

Setting Jessie is in his grandmother's room and looking at a book with her.

Speaker	Utterance	Context
Grandmother	Kore wa nani desu ka? /This TOP what is QUEST/ 'What is this?'	pointing to a picture of a snake
Jessie	[hebi] /snake/ 'snake'	looking at the picture of the snake
Grandmother	Ah. Sugoi Jessie Hebi ga iru ne. /Oh, great Jessie. Snake SUB is PART/ 'Oh, great Jessie. That's a snake, isn't it '	Looking at Jessie with a big smile, patting him on the head and applauding him

Jessie:	[hebi, hebi] /snake, snake/ 'snake, snake'	after turning to another page of the book and pointing to another snake

As we saw in Table 2, the subject acquired the word snake [sneik] at 1;9(0) and first produced its Japanese equivalent [hebi] at 1;9(15). Example 7 shows that the subject produced the Japanese word [hebi] again at 1;9(26) when talking with his grandmother without her having said the Japanese word first so that he could imitate it. This suggests a definite preference for using the Japanese word [hebi] when responding to his Japanese grandmother's question.

Moreover, in the limited number of instances where the child uses one-word utterances in the language other than the native language of the interlocutor, he had not yet acquired the TE for that particular object or action. Thus it appears that his choice of that language was due to a lexical gap rather than confusion of his two languages. This suggests that in terms of social context, the subject preferred to use the native language of the interlocutor.

CONCLUSION

This study is the first to analyze at what stage of the linguistic development of a simultaneous bilingual child codeswitching begins. To do so, it analyzes when and how codeswitching begins in relation to formal and contextual aspects of his language production, including types of speech patterns, vocabulary growth, TEs and MLUs. This was an early stage in the language acquisition of the subject, an English/Japanese bilingual child. His MLU was 1.31, his UB was two words and he exhibited only two MMU. Although he was dealing with two languages, phonological mixing in his one-word utterances was limited (7.0%). Mixing within speech patterns, however, was more common (up to 41.5%). In grammatical terms, the subject produced nine different speech patterns. The majority (40%), however, consisted of noun-plus-noun constructions that were used to indicate possession. The child's lexicon at this stage indicates that his two languages are balanced.

The initial appearance of TEs between 1;9-1;10 meant that for the first time, it was possible for the subject to codeswitch situationally. During this same period, the subject began to show dominant use of the native language of the interlocutor in both one-word utterances and speech patterns. At this time, he also produced TEs simultaneously, thus giving a clear indication that he understood that the two words, one from each of his languages, were synonymous. Further analysis of the subject's contextual use of TEs simultaneously as well as his mixed utterances offered further indication of the development of his ability to codeswitch situationally.

Finally, in considering the child's linguistic development in light of the one-system, two-system and representational redescription models of bilingual first-language acquisition, it should be noted that the subject seemed to have some specifications that were fixed for each of his languages, and others that were generalized. Before 1;9 the subject could differentiate between most Japanese and English words with limited phonological mixing (Wanner, forthcoming). However, he could not differentiate between Japanese and English words contextually at that stage. This would indicate fixed specifications for classifying words phonetically into two categories but general specifications for differentiation between Japanese and English words contextually. After 1;9 the subject continued to differentiate between most Japanese and English words phonetically with limited mixing. This supports earlier findings for differentiation between two languages phonetically (Lanza, 1992; Genesee et al, 1995). In addition, in this stage, the subject showed predominant differentiation of Japanese and English words and speech patterns contextually. The high degree of mixing in speech patterns contextually between 1;9-1;10 indicates that the subject was in the early stages of developing general specifications.

Thus, the subject's development provides strong evidence for an interactional position between the one-system hypothesis and the two-system hypothesis along the lines of the theory of representational redescription. It would appear that for this subject, Japanese and English are two separate domains that take on general specifications developed contextually through interaction in the environment.

APPENDIX

TABLE A. One-Word and Two-Word Utterances According to Interlocutors

One-Word Utterances	FATHER English	FATHER Japanese	FATHER Cognates	FATHER Other Mixed	MOTHER English	MOTHER Japanese	MOTHER Cognates	MOTHER Other Mixed	GRANDMOTHER English	GRANDMOTHER Japanese	GRANDMOTHER Cognates	GRANDMOTHER Other Mixed	GRANDFATHER English	GRANDFATHER Japanese	GRANDFATHER Cognates	GRANDFATHER Other Mixed	GROUP Other Mixed	TOTAL
[miau η] 'meow' (cat sound)				1														1
[sΛn] 'sun'	3								2									5
[mu n] 'moon'	4								3									7
[sneɪk] 'snake'	1																	1
[flaur] 'flower'	1																	1
[aɪ] 'I'	1																	1
[hæt] 'hat'	1				1													2
[fon] 'phone'	1																	1
[gorɪl ə] 'gorilla'	1																	1
[b ʌbəl] 'bubble'	1																	1
[hom] 'home'	2																	2
[bæt] [bæto] 'bat'	1			1														2
[laən] 'lion'	2																	2
[g ɛ t] 'get'	1																	1
[hɪr] 'here'	1																	1
[ɪr] 'ear'																		0
[[illegible]] 'Jessie' (Name of subject) *	1																	1
[beɪbɪ] 'baby'	2				1													3
[hud] 'hood'	1																	1
[pɪlo] 'pillow'	1																	1
[or ɛ nd ʒ] 'orange'	1				1													2
[hɪp o] 'hippo'	2																	2
[m ʌnkɪ] 'monkey'	3																	3
[k ɛ r ɔ to] 'carrot'				1														1
[[illegible]] 'farmer'	2																	2
[[illegible]] 'zipper'	1				1													2
[[illegible]] 'horse'	2																	2
[d ɔg] 'dog'	2																	2
[kau] 'cow'	1																	1
[illegible]	1																	1
[illegible]	1																	1
[[illegible] η] 'moo' (cow sound)				1														1
[dada] [dædo η] 'Dada'	1							1				1						3
[daun] 'down'	1																	1
[pændə] 'panda'	1																	1
[mama] 'Mama'			5				5				3							13
[[illegible]] 'no'	1																	1
[n ʌ n] 'none'	1																	1
[[illegible]] 'man'	1																	1
[pudɪ ŋ] 'pudding'				1														3
[bal] 'ball'	1																	1

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE A (Continued)

One-Word Utterances	FATHER				MOTHER				GRANDMOTHER				GRANDFATHER				GROUP	TOTAL
	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	Other Mixed	Total
[ʌp] 'up'	1																	1
[blu] 'blue'	1																	1
[æpɒl] 'apple'	1																	1
[ɔf] 'off'	1																	1
[ɔn] 'on'	1																	1
[bai] 'bye'			1															1
[hɔt] 'hot'	1																	1
[bitoɳ] 'beet'				1														1
[ampaɳ] (Anpanman, a Japanese cartoon character)*																		0
[awaɳ] (dog)																		0
[waɳ] (dog sound)																		0
[aiai] (monkey sound)																		0
[nyanyaɳ] (cat sound)																		0
[babaɳ] 'grandma' (Kyushu dialect)		1				2								1				4
[toɾi] 'bird'																		0
[uma] 'horse'																		0
[taki] (takibi) 'fire /stove'		1				2				1								4
[nene] (cat sound)																		0
[hai] 'yes'		1																1
[kiɾai] dislike		1																1
[wani] 'alligator'		1																1
[gakɔ] 'school'																		0
[kiɾiɳ] 'giraffe'																		0
[kiːɾɔ] 'yellow'		1																1
[taiyoɾi] (taiyo), 'sun'		1								1								2
[ame] 'rain'																		0
[koꜜko] 'here'																		0
[kame] 'turtle'		1				1												2
[hebi] 'snake'										2								2
[nɛ] 'no'																		0
[soɾe] 'that'																		0
[toma] 'car'																		0
[no] (possessive particle)*																		0
[unko] 'poop'		1																1
[mo] 'again'																		0
[nai] 'none'																		0
[i] 'good'																		0
[yo] (emphatic particle) *																		0
[moɾi] 'forest'																		1

Table A (Continued)

One-Word Utterances	FATHER				MOTHER				GRANDMOTHER				GRANDFATHER				GROUP	TOTAL
	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	English	Japanese	Cognates	Other Mixed	Other Mixed	Total
[pa ɲ] 'bread'						1				1								2
[oba ɲ] 'Grandma'		1				2												3
[ao] 'blue'						1				1								2
[kokekoko] (rooster sound)										1								1
[bu] (sound of passing gas)		1				1				1								3
[onaka] 'stomach'		1				1				1								3
[tjiku ɲ] (poking sound)										1								1
[daiko ɲ] 'horseradish'										1								1
[eji] 'delicious'						1												1
[kaba ɲ] 'bag'		1				1				1								3
[nai nai] 'clean up'		1								1								2
[eto ɲ] (*eto*) 'well'						1												1
[kawa] 'skin'		1				1												2
[aji] 'taste'										1								1
[r r o r o] (Japanese cartoon character)*						1												1
[chiisai] 'little'										1								1
[mushi] 'bug'										1								1
[motto] 'more'						1												1
[ie] 'house'														1				1
[unchi] 'to defecate'		1								1								2
[gaijin] 'foreigner'										1								1
Subtotal one word utterances	55	16	6	6	4	18	5	3	5	18	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	142
One-word group with interlocutor	66.3	19.3	7.2	7.2	13.3	60.0	16.7	10.0	18.5	66.7	11.1	3.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	

TABLE A (Continued)

Multi-Word Utterances	FATHER English	FATHER Japanese	FATHER Cognates	FATHER Other Mixed	MOTHER English	MOTHER Japanese	MOTHER Cognates	MOTHER Other Mixed	GRANDMOTHER English	GRANDMOTHER Japanese	GRANDMOTHER Cognates	GRANDMOTHER Other Mixed	GRANDFATHER English	GRANDFATHER Japanese	GRANDFATHER Cognates	GRANDFATHER Other Mixed	GROUP Other Mixed	TOTAL Total
[nʌn nai] 'none, none' (TE)				4								1					2	7
[no ɪ: ɛ] 'no, no' (TE)				2				2				2						6
[daikoŋ no ɪ:]'Horseradish is good.'		1				2				2								5
[mo ɪ yo ko] 'It is already good.'						1				1								2
[so ɾ e wa mo ɾ ɪ]'That is a forest'										1								1
[mama kaba ŋ] 'Mama's bag'				2			2				4							8
[mu n hom] 'The moon went to his home'	4																	4
[mimi ɪ]' 'ear, ear' (TE)																		0
[mama hæt] 'Mama's hat'	3																	3
[baba ŋ hæt]'Grandma's hat'				1														1
[d ʒ ɪ ʃ ɪ hæt] 'Jessie's hat'	3																	3
[da ɪ pɪlo] 'Dada's pillow'	3																	3
[no naɪ] 'no, not'								2				1						3
[dædɪ wana] 'Daddy Wanner'	3																	3
[anpa n ma ŋ nai] 'Anpanman isn't here.'						1				2								3
[ba ɪ ɪ] 'The ball is rolling'	4																	4
[dæda ɔɪ] 'Dada's sound (voice)'								1										1
[ɔto] 'There is more sound'		1				2				1								4
[bal] 'My foot will kick the ball'				1														1
[g no oto] 'sound of cooking'						2				1								3
Subtotal multi word utterances	20	2	0	10	0	8	2	5	0	8	4	4	0	0	0	0	2	65
% of word group with interlocutor	62 5	6 3	0.0	31.3	0.0	53 3	13.3	33.3	0.0	50.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0 0	2.0	
Total one word utterances	75	18	6	16	4	26	7	8	5	26	7	5	0	2	0	0	2	207
% of utterances with interlocutor	65.2	40.9	5 2	13 9	8.9	57.8	15.6	17.8	11 6	60.5	16.3	11.6	0.0	100.0	0 0	0.0	0.0	
Total utterances with interlocutor				115				45				43				2	2	207

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Catherine Doughty, Hidekazu Miyahara, and Robert Recktenwald for helpful discussion, comments and suggestions.

REFERENCES

Blom, J.P., and Gumperz, J.J. (1972), Social Meaning in Structure: Code-Switching in Norway, in Gumperz and Hymes (1972; 409-34).

DeHower, A. (1990) *The Acquisition of Two Languages from Birth: A Case Study.* Cambridge: C.U.P.

Dore, J., Franklin, M., Miller, R.T., and Ramer, A. (1976) Transitional Phenomena in Early Acquisition. *Journal of Child Language* 3: 13-28.

Genesee, F. (1989) Early Bilingual Development: One Language or Two? *Journal of Child Language* 16, 161-179.

Genesee, F., Nicoladis, E. and Paradis, J. (1995) Language Differentiation in Early Bilingual Development. *Journal of Child Language* 22, 611-631.

Goodz, N.S. (1989) Parental Language Mixing in Bilingual Families. *Infant Mental Health Journal* 10, 25-43.

Karmiloff-Smith, A. (1992). *Beyond Modularity: A Developmental Perspective on Cognitive Science.* MIT Press; Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Lanza, E. (1992) Can Bilingual Two-year-olds Code Switch? *Journal of Child Language* 19, 633-658.

Leopold, W. (1978). A Child's Learning of Two Languages. In E. Hatch (ed.), *Second Language Acquisition, A Book of Readings.* Rowlin, MA: Newbury House.

Lindholm, K.J. & Padilla, A.M. (1978). Language Mixing in Bilingual Children. *Journal of Child Language* 5, 327-335.

Meisel, J.M. (1990) (ed.) *Two First Languages: Early Grammatical Development in Bilingual Children.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Meyers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social Motivations for Codeswitching.* Clarendon Press; Oxford.

Pearson, B.Z., Fernandez, S. & Oller, D.K. (1995). Cross-Language Synonyms in the Lexicons of Bilingual Infants: One Language or Two? *Journal of Child Language* 22, 345-368.

Quay, S. (1995). The Bilingual Lexicon: Implications for Studies of Language Choice. *Journal of Child Language* 22, 369-387.

Redlinger, W. & Park, T.Z. (1980). Language Mixing in Young Bilingual Children. *Journal of Child Language*, 7, pp. 337-352.

Swain & Wesche, M. (1975). Linguistic Interaction: Case Study of a Bilingual Child. *Language Sciences* 37, 17-22.

Volterra, V. & Taeschner, T. (1978) The Acquisition and Development of Language by Bilingual Children. *Journal of Child Language* 12, 297-324.

Wanner, P. (forthcoming). A LongituJinal Linguistic Study of Language Differentiation in a Japanese and English Bilingual Child from 1;0-1;9. *Memoirs of the Faculty of Engineering and Design*; Kyoto Institute of Technology.

Wanner, P., Wanner, F., & Miyahara, H. (1993). From Presymbolic Use Toward Symbolic Use of Words in a Bilingual Child. *Research Bulletin of Kyushu Junior College of Kinki University* 22, 17-37.

Double Transitions:
A Case Study of an Infant Japanese/English Bilingual

Sachiyo Fujita Round
Hitotsubashi University, Postgraduate Student
Home Address: 3-11-18 Fujimoto, Kukubunji, Tokyo 185
email: 63032081@people.or.jp

As part of a longitudinal study of the simultaneous acquisition of English and Japanese by the child of a Japanese mother and English father who employed the one parent, one language strategy, this paper looks at two major transitions that occurred during a 5-month period preceding his second birthday. Just as the child was moving from the one-word to the two-word stage of language production, the family moved from England to Japan. Because English had been his dominant language during the one-word stage, the child had acquired a large number of English nouns. However, he moved to a Japanese-speaking community at the time when he normally would have learned noun inflections in English. His multi-word stage therefore developed along Japanese lines, with acquisition of more verbs and functors. Thus, he began mixing English nouns with Japanese particles and verbs in what appears to be Japanese syntax. This development is analyzed in light of the three stages of bilingual development outlined by Volterra and Taeschner.

＜偶然にも重なった２つの移行期：日本語・英語のバイリンガル幼児に関する事例研究＞
本論文は母親であり研究者でもある著者の息子の1;8（１才８ヶ月）から2;0までの５ヶ月間の言語発達を報告したものである。研究対象の「T」は同時バイリンガルとして育てられている幼児であり、日本人の母親とイギリス人の父親は生まれた時から「一人一言語」といわれる言語方策をとり、母親は日本語、父親は英語でTと接してきた。
本研究はTが同時バイリンガルとしていかに育っていくかという長期発達研究の一部であり、今回の論文ではTの初期の言語発達の上で偶然にも重なった２つの移行期について焦点を当てる。Tの1;8から2;0までの５ヶ月の間に「一語文」から「二語文」へ移行する時期に、それまで英語が優位となっていたTが英語圏のイギリスから日本語圏の日本へ移住しこの言語間でも移行が起こったというものである。1;8の時に英語の「一語文」が活発に出はじめていたTにとって、急に日常の英語使用が減ってしまったという環境的要因が後者の言語間の移行としてどのように現れたか。
とくに英語を話す地域から日本語の地域に移ったことは「一語文」から「二語文」への移行の時に発達した言語の内容にも影響した。その言語内容の中でも英語と日本語の品詞に注目し、Tの５ヶ月間のデータを分析した結果、「一語文」では英語の名詞が占め、「二語文」「三語文」でも名詞は英語が優位だが「複数文」で日本語の動詞が現れたことから日本語の助詞も発達した。ボルテラとタシェナー（１９７８）のバイリンガルの３つの段階を参考にしつつ、この２つの移行期を経て２つの言語を統制する統辞の点では日本語が優位だと判断し、上のバイリンガルの段階で第２段階目にあると想定できる。

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a case study of my own son, T, a Japanese/English bilingual child It analyzes his linguistic development between the ages of 1;8 (years; months) and 2;0. The informant is a simultaneous infant bilingual with a Japanese mother and a British father who applied the one person, one language strategy from his birth.

This paper is part of a longitudinal study of T's development as a simultaneous bilingual. It focuses on a 5-month period in the child's early language development when he went through two of the most important transitions in his language development: he was growing out of the one-word stage toward the two-word stage, and coincidentally, he moved from Britain to Japan at this time. The latter transition influenced the former, since T was suddenly removed from an English-speaking community to a Japanese-speaking community at 1;8. His exposure to English suddenly decreased just after he started his active one-word stage with English as his dominant language.

Using data collected during these 5 months, I have analyzed T's double transitions, examining development of his use of grammar to see how he made his transition from the one-word to the multi-word stage, as well as his transition from English to Japanese dominance.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

First I would like to define two terms I use throughout this paper simultaneous bilingual and stages of bilingual development

Bilinguals are often categorized as either "simultaneous" or "successive", depending upon whether they learn both of their languages at the same time or learn one before the other. McLaughlin (1984) suggests that to distinguish between these two types of language acquisition, the cutoff point for exposure to the second language is roughly about the age of 3 So, when the second language is

introduced before the child is 3 years old, s/he is said to undergo simultaneous language acquisition, while if exposure begins after the child is 3 years old, the language acquisition is termed successive. Many researchers agree with this boundary between "simultaneous" and "successive" bilingualism.

However one area that has not yet been determined by research concerns the process of becoming bilingual. Currently, there are two main theories about the mental processing of two languages in infants. They are called the "two-system model" and the "one-system model". Klausen, Subritzky and Hayashi (1993) define these two approaches as follows: "it is assumed in the two-system model that the child is able to separate the two different linguistic systems in her environment from early on", while "on the other hand, it is assumed in the one-system model that there are certain cognitive prerequisites for language differentiation both on the lexical level and the syntactic level". In other words, in the one-system model, it is assumed that very young children treat all language input as belonging to a single system, and do not realize that in fact, they are dealing with two different systems. [Editor's note: see Wanner article, pp. 20 - 40, for more on this debate.]

In the early stages of my longitudinal study of T's linguistic development, I found some evidence of a single linguistic system in terms of lexicon (Fujita Round, 1993). Since the data I have collected on T seems to fit this model, I will be analyzing T's linguistic development in terms of this theory.

Using this model, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) described the stages of the linguistic development of bilingual children. They outlined three stages of becoming bilingual:

1) The child has one lexical system which includes words from both languages.
2) The child distinguishes two different lexicons but applies the same syntactic rules to both languages.
3) The child has two linguistic codes, differentiated both in lexicon and in syntax, but each language is exclusively associated with the person using that language.

Since these three stages were suggested, they have been used and re-examined by other researchers (McLaughlin, 1984; Vihman, 1985; Saunders, 1988; Lanza, 1992; Klausen et al., 1993). Saunders (1988) suggests that Stage 1 lasts until the age of 2;0, based on his studies of his three bilingual children. According to his interpretation, in this stage, "the child regards the two languages as one system containing many synonyms, and in his or her small active vocabulary uses only one of the 'synonyms'". Lanza (1992), however, found evidence of the awareness of two languages and the ability to codeswitch contextually in a child who was only two years old.

In looking at the stages described by Volterra and Taeschner, Klausen et al. (1993) point out that "there is no transition between the stages as they are defined even though gradual development is a key issue in the model". They argue that the actual process of transitions between the stages in Volterra and Taeschner's study are not described precisely as to when they occur and how the informants in the study made the transitions between the three stages.

In my early study of T between 1;0 and 1;4 (1993), the data provided some evidence of Stage 1. However T's language production was fairly limited at the time. He was in the early one-word stage and there were no syntactic items in the data, so the actual distance between Stage 1 and 2 of T's bilingual development was not clearly traced in the study. In addition to my study, Vihman (1985) also states that her bilingual son's data between 1;1 and 1;7 "may safely be viewed as falling within Volterra and Taeschner's Stage 1, since words were not regularly combined until 1;8".

During this second phase of my longitudinal study, T was between Stages 1 and 2. The key point of this transition between these two stages seems to be related to the onset of syntax and the choice of the dominant language. The lexicon up to this point consisted mostly of nouns, but this transition, while leading to an expanded lexicon, was more concerned with complex grammatical acquisition. At this point, the emergence of mixed two-word and multi-word utterances is the central developmental fact in relation to bilingual language acquisition.

Let us now look at the subject and how he underwent these transitions.

SUBJECT

The subject of this case study, T, is an only child who has been exposed to Japanese and English from birth. His parents decided to adhere to the one person, one language strategy, while between themselves they speak English. T was born in Japan, then moved to Britain at 0;5 and lived there until 1;8. After that the family came back to live in Japan.

Looking at T's language environment and his linguistic development during his first two years, we find

1) 0;0 - 0;5: birth and life in Japan/prelinguistic stage.
2) 0;5 - 1;8: move to Britain/start of one-word stage (1;0), gradual development of English dominance.
3) 1;8 - 2;0: return to Japan/transition from one-word to multi-word stage overlapping sudden change from living in English-speaking community to life in Japan.

The sources of language input for T during these three periods were as follows:

1) 0;0 - 0;5 Home/grandparents/neighbourhood (Japan)
2) 0;5 - 1;8 Home/grandparents/neighbourhood/local baby clinic/creche (child-care centre) in the university/local play group (England)
3) 1;8 - 2;0 Home/grandparents/neighbourhood/local play group (Japan)

The only bilingual domain was the home[1]; otherwise, both speech communities were dominated by monolinguals.

The data in this paper are based on period 3 above. They were collected from audio cassette recordings and the researcher/mother's notes. Five 60 to 90-minute cassette recordings were made between 1;8 and 2;0 at the breakfast table where the family sit down together. Conversation for 30 minutes from each was transcribed, the portions of 30 minutes being selected particularly for the moments of communicative interaction between T and his parents. The participants in the tapes are T, his Japanese mother and his English father, except on Tape 5 (2;0), where his father was missing and the child had to stick to his Japanese- speaking context with his mother.

Before the family returned to Japan, the father was a full-time parent whereas the mother was a part-time student. Then, in Japan, T's father started full-time work and his mother became a full-time parent. Due to this change of family situation, the pattern of the one person, one language strategy which his parents had aimed at from his birth was necessarily altered, as indicated by the situation in Tape 5. The family routine changed. In particular, T's exposure to English from his father dramatically decreased. The home was the only bilingual domain for T, but the same quality of bilingual situation was not maintained. These various changes due to the fact that the family moved from Britain to Japan influenced T's language development during the 5 months in which the data were collected.

Now let us look closely on T's double language transitions, from the one-word to the multi- word stage, and from English to Japanese dominance.

ONE-WORD STAGE TO MULTI-WORD STAGE

In the five months of study, T's language development shifted from the one-word stage to the multi-word stage. At 1;8, the majority of his utterances were single words, mostly nouns. He often pointed out objects, whether demanding food or drink, or remarking on what he saw around him. Thus, "Juice!" or "Door!" were typical utterances at this time.

Then, at 2;0, he began to add more specific information about the objects, saying, for example, "*Jusu*, Tomo-*no*" (Juice, Tomo's) or "Juice here". Nor was this expansion limited to objects. At 2;0, he was more explicit about what he wanted to say in general, (e.g., "More milk, Mummy"), thus producing more adult-like utterances.

This gradual increase in the length of T's utterances is depicted in Table 1. Not only did the number of his utterances grow constantly, but also, the increase in the types of utterances was notable. These numbers confirm T's language development.

TABLE 1. Number of One-Word, Two-Word and Multi-Word Utterances Produced in Monthly Samples Between 1;8 and 2;0

Age (Years; Months)	One-Word	Two-Word	Multi-Word	Total
1; 8	26	2	--	28
1; 9	33	6	--	39
1;10	31	17	5	53
1;11	31	30	15	76
2; 0	50	33	15	98

T's use of his two languages during this period is presented in Table 2 below. The figures were calculated as percentages of his total number of utterances as shown in Table 1.

In the one-word stage, it was easy to classify utterances as either Japanese or English. The only exceptions were Japanese loan words borrowed from English, and overextended words (words or sounds that the child tended to use in a way unique to him), which were assigned to the "Others" category. (See actual examples in Footnote 2). After T entered the two-word and multi-word stages, however, he produced mixtures of his two languages, e.g., "*Atchi*, please" (there, please) at 1;10, "Here *da*" (It's here) and "Tomo, Daddy hot *achichi* " (*Tomo* found the toast hot, hot, Daddy) at 1;11.

Of course he also combined words of the same language, e.g., "Mummy, yeah?" During the first month of this study (1;8), only 2 two-word utterances were recorded. Since they were both in English, there were not any mixed utterances at this point. From 1;9, however, T started to mix the two languages in his two-word and multi-word utterances.

TABLE 2. Language Distribution

Age (Years; Months)	Japanese	English	Mixed	Others	Total
1; 8	17.8%	67.9%	0%	14.3%	28
1; 9	25.6%	51.3%	10.3%	12.8%	39
1;10	25.0%	55.8%	15.4%	3.8%	53
1;11	26.7%	38.7%	32.0%	2.6%	76
2; 0	45.8%	25.0%	22.9%	6.3%	98

At 1;8, T used mostly one-word English constructions. They comprised 67.9% of his utterances, whereas Japanese word constructions accounted for only 17.8%. Then, as time went on and the transition to the Japanese linguistic environment exerted its impact, the percentages of his use of the two languages gradually changed. This shift in dominance coincides with the time T started to produce two-word utterances. Then from 1;11 to 2;0, there is a drop in the mixing. The reason for this may have been that he did not happen to have an English interlocutor in that particular recording setting, and therefore he did not need to mix much English with his Japanese.

Tables 1 and 2 suggest that as T made the transition from one-word to multi-word utterances, his early two-word utterances were mostly combinations of two English nouns, such as "Daddy, door" (1;9). However, by 1;11, the proportion of two-word utterances was roughly equal to that of his one-word utterances, and the proportion of mixed utterances had also increased. This is the time when T started to actively learn parts of speech other than nouns in Japanese. Therefore, he still used English nouns but combined them with other parts of speech from Japanese.

In the next section, I would like to look at detailed grammatical constructions from the data.

EARLY GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Clancy (1985) found that "Japanese child language at the one- and two-word stages is more frequently grammatically complete and correct than would be the corresponding utterances of an English-speaking child". However, she did mention that the reasons are partly that the Japanese language is dependent on situation and context, and has frequent ellipses which are considered grammatically correct usage. For this reason, the course of acquiring Japanese and English cannot be compared directly and its evaluation seems to be a difficult task.

It can be noted, however, that whereas Japanese children usually acquire verb inflections for tense, aspect, negation and mood first (Clancy, 1985) the early grammatical constructions English children usually acquire are noun inflections for number and possession and verbal inflections for aspect and tense (Brown, 1973; Munson and Ingram, 1985, cited in Klausen et al.)

Examining T's lexical development during the period of this study, we find that the majority of items in his lexicon was still nouns. This can be explained by him still being in the one- word stage at this period of the study. Table 3 below shows the distribution of various parts of speech as percentages of the total number of utterances in the data. The presence of Japanese functors appears to clearly show the transition of T's lexical dominance from English to Japanese. However, the emergence of functors in this table might also be linked with the particular situation for the recording at 2;0, when the English interlocutor was absent. In this context, the Japanese functors appeared mostly at 2;0, when T had to stick to Japanese throughout the recording period because his English father was not present.

In this period of five months, T's English lexicon was predominantly composed of nouns and adjectives. It is assumed that this is because he had already acquired many nouns in English at his one-word stage before he moved to Japan. Therefore, throughout this period, contentives (nouns, verbs and adjectives) are dominant and 97% of his lexicon in this area is in English. On the other hand, with the appearance of Japanese particles, the percentage of functors increased in Japanese. On the whole, it is obvious that T had only acquired a few functors in English, and that he acquired his functors mainly in Japanese.

TABLE 3. Grammatical Analysis of T's Utterances During the Research Period

	Japanese	English	Total Nos.	Japanese	English
Contentives					
Nouns	18	27	45		
Verbs	11	1	12		
Adjectives	7	5	12		
Subtotal	36	33	69	75%	97%
Functors					
Adverbs	4	1	5		
Determiners	0	0	0		
Pronouns	1	0	1		
Particles	6	0	6		
Conjunctions	0	0	0		
Copula verbs	1	0	1		
Subtotal	12	1	13	25%	3%
Total	48	34	82		

Note: Classification system borrowed from Lanza (1992).

In examining the emergence of T's use of English functors during the 5-month period under review, I would like to compare his use of high-frequency English words with that of English monolingual children. Gopnik (1981) made a study of nine English children between 1;0 and 2;0 to determine frequently used words and phrases. Table 4 shows the most commonly used 20 words and the prevalence of their use, along with notation of whether or not T used these words.

TABLE 4. Use of High-Frequency English Words: Comparison of T and Monolingual Children

Use by Children in Gopnik Study	Word Number	Word	Use by T
All 9 used	1	down	+
	2	gone	
	3	that	+
8 of 9 used	4	there	+
	5	no	+
	6	in	+
7 of 9 used	7	up	+
	8	bye bye	+
	9	yes	+
	10	more	+
	11	on	
	12	oh, dear	+
6 of 9 used	13	here yare (=here you are)	+
	14	off	+
	15	fall	
5 of 9 used	16	hello	+
	17	again	
	18	out	
	19	look	
	20	go	

Among these 20 frequently used English words and two-words phrases, 13 also appeared in T's data, whereas 7 items were missing. Those that did not appear in T's data were "gone", "on", "fall", "again", "out", "look" and "go". They are all prepositions, adverbs or verbs --in other words, English functors. Thus, T's lexicon had developed to include a fair amount of common English terms at his age, except in the realm of functors.

Noun Inflection

As previously mentioned, one of the early grammatical constructions normally acquired by English-speaking children is noun inflection for number and possession. In my data, there are no English noun inflections in T's lexicon. This fact can be interpreted to mean that T had not developed the concept of noun inflection in English yet. In other words, although he had learned English nouns, he was still in his one-word or early two-word stage of development in English.

As far as the concept of numbers is concerned, T used a Japanese numeral quantifier at 2;0, combining the Japanese counter "*-sai* "(years old) with an actual number "*ichi* "(one) successfully, as shown in Example 1.

Example 1

Situation: *Mother tries to get T's attention and talk to him while he refuses to let her change his nappy.*

M: *Itai-ne. Itai, itai. Tomo, kae-yo.* ([Your bottom is] sore, isn't it? It is, it is Tomo, let's change it [the nappy].)
T: Mummy, *yada.* (Mummy, I don't want to.)
M: *Hora, Tomo ikutsu?* (Look, Tomo, how old are you?)
T: *Is-sai.* (One year old.)
M: *Is-sai?* (One year old?)
T: *Uhh.* (Yeah.)
M: *Kyode nis-sai da -yo.* (Today you are two years old.)

Japanese, the language T used to count in, does not have the same plural system as English. There are many numeral quantifiers (like the counter for years in the example above) which attach only to numbers. They do not attach to the actual noun as English determiners do. At this point, it was questioned if this absence of noun inflections in English could be a transfer from the uninflected Japanese noun. T advanced to the two-word and multi-word stage by 2;0, and he also showed a transition from English to Japanese as the dominant language. Thus, he increasingly acquired verbs and functors in Japanese, not English.

It seems possible to interpret this as meaning that he could apply the Japanese grammatical system to English, but not the other way round. This is similar to what Volterra and Taeschner described in their bilingual Stage 2, where they asserted that the same syntactic rules are applied to the lexicons of both languages. In this sense, acquiring morphological elements like noun inflection is one of the key elements for Japanese/English bilingual children in differentiating between English and Japanese.

Verbs and Verbal Inflection

T did not acquire many verbs in English during his one-word stage while he was in England Verbs were gradually acquired at the end of the one-word stage toward 2;0. There are 12 verbs in the recorded data, and they are all Japanese except for one English verb Moreover, most Japanese verbs are inflected for negation, tense and mood. These verbs and the inflections T produced are shown in Table 5.

The only English verb T used during this period is "walk". However, in actual usage, this "walk" was used conditionally in combination with "park" "Walk park" was one of T's regular phrases and the words functioned together as a set phrase with a specific meaning. Thus "walk" seemed to function more like a nominal for him.

In looking at the verbs T used in my data, another unique feature is his verbal inflections His only English verb in the list, for example, is not inflected, whereas, of the other 11 verbs, all are inflected except the two verbs which are used as baby talk in Japanese

TABLE 5: Use of Verbs

Example Number	Age When First Used	Verb With Inflection	Ages When Used Again	Meaning in English
1	1;8	*atta*	1;9, 1;10, 1;11, 2;0	exist-ed
2	1;9	*hainnai*		enter-ed
3		*inai*		exist-not
4		*ita*		exist-ed
5	1;10	*oide*		come+*te* form=please come
6	1;11	*kaita*		wrote
7	2;0	*asobo*		play+*o* form=let's play
8		*chodai**		give me (baby talk)
9		*mite*		look+*te*-form
10		*nenne**		sleep (baby talk)
11		*haitta*		enter-ed
12		walk [English]		

To negate a verb in Japanese as in example 2 in Table 5, T had to drop the "*ri*", which is the basic inflection attached to the verb stem "*hai*", and then inflect the verb by attaching the negative ending "*-nai*", thus creating "*hairanai*". In example 11 in the table, he uses the same verb but adds the past tense marker "*ta*". For mood, he used two forms, the imperative *te*-form and the volitive *o*-form, in examples 5, 7 and 9. Given these examples, my data supports the view that verbal inflections for tense, aspects, negation and mood are early constructions in Japanese (Clancy, 1985; Klausen et al, 1993). At the same time, as far as T's verbs in the data are concerned, it can be said that T followed the course of Japanese monolingual children acquiring verbs, rather than English children. However, whether T eventually learns English verbs or not is another question.

In my study, half of T's Japanese verbs were produced in 2;0 (examples 7 to 12). It must again be stressed that in this particular recording situation, T's father, the only medium of English in his environment at the time, was not present, and the input of English, either from his father or from communication between his parents, did not exist. Therefore, it could be expected that T would have more readiness to use the Japanese language. Thus, in this recording, almost half of his utterances (45.8% out of 98 utterances in Table 2) were exclusively in Japanese. Thus, the absence of an English interlocutor might have affected the distribution of languages in his utterances here.

However, the fact that T used Japanese verbs in his two-word and multi-word utterances at this time could indicate that Japanese syntax had become dominant, since he did not have equivalent verbs in English. If that is the case, then this Tape 5 at 2;0 might be showing a shift from bilingual Stage 1 to 2, in that he was applying Japanese syntactic rules to both languages. Taeschner (1983) also pointed out that verb development is crucial for bilinguals and it occurs at the end of the first stage and throughout most of the second.

Postpositional Particles

The closest English equivalent of the Japanese particle is the preposition. Japanese particles, however, come after the item and are therefore post positional. Clancy (1985) found that particles are among the earliest acquired grammatical constructions among monolingual Japanese children. As with verbal inflections, T's data was consistent with her findings for Japanese infants. Indeed, T's use of particles illustrated his rapid Japanese development and shows the shift in his dominant language during the period under investigation.

In Table 6 above, of the four particles in the data, "*-ne*" and "*-yo*" are sentence final particles. They are simply attached at the end of the sentence. In particular, "*-ne*" is flexible, being the equivalent of a tag question. In general, "*-ne*" expresses the speaker's request for confirmation or agreement from the hearer (as in the English, "Isn't it" or "You know"). "*-No*", on the other hand, is a particle that modifies the preceding noun or noun phrase to indicate possession or location (meaning "---'s, "in ---", "at ---", etc). In my data, T's use of "*-no*" is usually possessive. "*-Mo*" is a particle which is the equivalent of "also", "---, too" or, in a negative construction, "not, ---either".

TABLE 6. Frequency of Japanese Particle Use

Month	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	Total
Particles & Number of Times Used	*-ne* 1		*-yo* 2 *-no* 1 *-wa* 1	*-yo* 2 *-no* 1	*-ne* 1 *-yo* 5 *-n* 3 *-mo* 3	2 9 5 4
Monthly Total	1	0	4	3	12	20

If we consider each particle to be one word, the use of these particles in the data is counted as two-word utterances. T's use of particles with other words is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7. Two-Word Utterances Involving Particles

Nouns (Possessive Meaning)	Verbs	Adjectives
Tomo-*no*	*asobo-ne* (let's play)	*nai-yo* (it's not here!)
Mummy-*no*		*ii-yo* (it's all right!)
Percy-*no*		*itai-yo* (it hurts!)
No-my-*yo* (not mine!)		hot-*yo*
Truck-*mo*		here-*mo* (already here)

T produced combinations of particles and both English and Japanese words. One of T's multi-word utterances is actually a compound particle: Mummy-*mo-yo* (2;0). However, in my data I found that T did not inflect nouns for number or possession in English, though he used Japanese quantifiers for numbers, and the Japanese postpositional particle "*-no*" is the equivalent for English noun inflection for possession.

Despite the difference in the grammars of the two languages, the purpose of communication to achieve meaning must be similar. Itoh (1990) pointed out that the particles "*-yo*" and "*-no*" are acquired in the early stage of Japanese language acquisition because they are necessary for communication. The reason is that these particles usually appear in children's demands, particularly when they insist on something. In contrast, inflections are not needed to formulate demands in English, and this may be the reason they are acquired later in that language.

This assertion appears to be supported by T's data. His use of the particles "*-yo*" and "*-no*" is seen in the examples below, all of which were recorded at 2;0.

Uses of "*-no*"

"Mummy-*no*" ([It's] Mummy's [not Daddy's])
"Tomo-*no*" ([It's] Tomo's [not anyone else's])

Uses of "*-yo*"

"No-my-*yo*" ([It's] not mine (emphasising his denial])
"*Itai-yo*" ([It's] painful [emphasising the degree of pain])

If one looks at the verbal inflections and postpositional particles that tend to occur early in Japanese language acquisition, they appear to be more connected with children's feelings rather than with the course of language acquisition itself, and thus fit into Itoh's theory emphasizing communication needs. Whether children are bilingual or monolingual, in the process of acquiring language/s it seems that they will learn the communicative role of language by expressing their demands and trying to get their messages through to the adults around them.

Lexical Mixing

Until now, I have concentrated mostly on the morphology in T's grammatical development. Before I conclude my description of T's language development in this study, I would like to examine how T mixed words from his two languages in order to consider T's syntactic development.

As we have already seen, T's one-word utterances were predominantly English. To gain a better understanding of how his languages were used during this double transition stage, I excluded his one-word utterances and focused on mixing in his two-word/multi-word utterances. To do this, I divided his utterances of two or more words into three categories: Japanese, English and Mixed utterances. The results are given in Table 8.

TABLE 8. Language Context in Two-Word/Multi-Word Utterances

Age	Japanese	English	Mixed	Subtotal
1;8	0	2	0	2
1;9	0	2	4	6
1;10	4	11	7	22
1;11	8	16	21	45
2;0	20	6	21	47
Total	32	37	53	122

Table 8 makes it clear that after T started to construct two-word/multi word utterances, the number of mixed utterances increased. To get an even clearer picture of his mixed utterances, I subdivided each of the language contexts to indicate two-word and multi-word utterances. The results are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9. Language Context in Two-Word and Multi-Word Utterances

Age	Japanese		English		Mixed	
	Two-Word	Multi-Word	Two-Word	Multi-Word	Two-Word	Multi-Word
1;8			2			
1;9			2		4	
1;10	3	1	10	1	5	2
1;11	5	3	15	1	10	11
2;0	15	5	5	1	16	5

The time when T began using multi-word utterances is also when he started producing Japanese particles and verbs. The beginning of Japanese syntax acquisition becomes becomes quite clear when his two-word/multi-word utterances are categorized according to the way he combined his languages in these utterances. To clarify this stage of his language acquisition, I categorised his two-/multi-word utterances into three types, as shown below.

Type 1	JAPANESE NOUN + ENGLISH WORD "MORE"	Age
1-1	Japanese noun + "more"	
	e.g.) *Manma* more. (Rice, more.)	1;10
1-2	"More" + Japanese noun	
	e.g.) More *nyunyu.* (More milk.)	2;0

Type 2	ENGLISH NOUN + JAPANESE FUNCTOR/S	
2-1	English noun + Japanese verb	
	e.g.) Mummy *nenne*. (Mummy wants to sleep.)	2;0
2-2	English noun + Japanese particle	
	e.g.) Here-*mo*.(Here, too.)	2;0
2-3	English noun + Japanese verb + Japanese particle	
	e.g.) Daddy, *nenne-ne*?(Does Daddy sleep? Is he still sleeping?)	2;0
2-4	English noun + Japanese compound particles	
	e.g.) Mummy-*mo-yo*.(Mummy, too! [definitely])	2;0
Type 3	TRANSLATING FROM ENGLISH TO JAPANESE	
3-1	Translating in the middle of the utterance	
	e.g.) Please, oh-no, *hai-yo*.	
	(Please [have this/hee-we-are], oh-no, here-we-are.)	1;10
3-2	Translating/general mixing	
	e.g.) Two, three, *titoisu*.(Two, three, one.)	1;11

In T's development of two-word/multi-word utterances, Type 1 combinations tended to occur when his English was still dominant (in Table 2). Actually, Type 1 is a model which is often interpreted among linguists as "telegraphic speech" and "pivotal grammar". It occurs in a similar way with English monolingual children in the two-word stage. Type 1 appeared mostly in T's two-word utterances at 1;10. There the syntactic rule might be explained as English.

The use of Type 1 combinations dropped off at 1;11 and 2;0, although they had comprised 6 of his English and mixed utterances at 1;10. This decrease may be seen to indicate the shift of dominance to Japanese. However, in her study of a Spanish/English child, Deuchar (1994) reported that words like "more" ceased to be used when utterances became longer and verbs were acquired. In T's data, the decline in use of Type 1 combinations overlaps with the period when T started using verbs. Thus, the use of Type 1 combinations in T's two-word stage can be viewed as only temporary and being replaced through the acquisition of Japanese verbs and particles.

In place of Type 1 combinations, Type 2 appeared more frequently in both two-word and multi-word utterances at 1,11 and 2;0. In Type 2, it is clear that T was more dependent on Japanese verbs and postpositional particles, that is, Japanese functors. As we saw in the section on verbs, T's Japanese verbs were mostly inflected, except when he used baby talk verbs. The point here is that Type 2 combinations show the cross-linguistic difference between Japanese and English. In Japanese, the negation (e.g. "*hainnai*", 1,9) is inflected in the verb as one chunk of word, whereas in English, the negation is not inflected, but more separate and flexible. Therefore, in dealing with negation, the number of words could be counted as two in English but not in Japanese

Type 3 combinations occurred when T addressed his mother, a Japanese speaker The direction of the language switch in these combinations, from English translated into Japanese, indicates T's awareness that he is switching languages. The Type 3 utterances in my data cannot be said to be codeswitching because T did not have enough translation equivalents in his two languages to choose a particular language or switch from one language to other on purpose. However, these Type 3 combinations certainly hint that T had started to translate and have an awareness of two different languages. I might even speculate that T might have been choosing his language according to the interlocutor. However, in the period covered by my data, it is still too early to say that he could distinguish between his languages and use separate syntactic rules according to the interlocutor.

In 1983, Taeschner added to her 1978 description of bilingual development, noting that in Stage 2 the child in her study began to produce translation equivalents and gradually to build up two lexical systems. This elaboration of Stage 2 would help to explain T's lexical mixing as evidenced in his Type 3 combinations. Thus, toward the end of 2;0, he can be said to have made a transition from bilingual Stage 1 to Stage 2, as well as the other transitions he went through

CONCLUSION

Between the ages of 1,8 and 2,0, the subject increasingly acquired Japanese grammar as he moved from the one-word stage to the multi-word stage and his environment changed from an English-speaking one to a Japanese community. Due to the fact that he acquired more Japanese functors, particularly verbs and postpositional particles, his utterances took on Japanese sentence structure as he moved onto his multi-word stage. Although he still had to mix in English nouns in order to complete sentences, the syntactic rules he used in his two-word/multi- word utterances became dominantly Japanese. The coincidence of this transition and the growth of his two word

stage brought about T's mixing because he had no chance to develop equivalent functors in English after he moved back to Japan. At this point, mixing occurred because of his lack of English verbs and functors. Thus, he was seen to have had enough English nouns with which to express himself in one-word utterances, but not in two-word/multi-word utterances without mixing.

In the comparison of the recording at 1;11, when he was conversing with both of his parents, and that made at 2;0, when he only had a Japanese speaker, his mother, to converse with, we saw how the subject managed to keep to the Japanese language most of the time. Even in the mixed utterances in this data, the evidence of his use of Japanese functors suggests that the syntactic rules are mostly Japanese. This may not only be seen as a sign of shifting dominance, but also be seen to indicate that he had started to use the same syntactic rules for both languages, as described in Volterra and Taeschner's bilingual Stage 2. While my data showed how T built up two lexical systems during the transition from the one-word to two-word/multi-word stage, they do not show the development of syntactic systems in two languages yet.

When a bilingual child has acquired two equivalent lexical systems and also two syntactic systems, as described in Volterra and Taeschner's Stage 3, the lexical mixing in these utterances can be clearly investigated as the child's language choice, or evidence of codeswitching. That will be the next developmental issue for T as a Japanese/English bilingual child.

NOTES

1. The definition of "domain" includes T's contacts with people as well as associations with places and situations he is put in.
2. In the data from these five tapes, there are eight overextended words; awa (another one), baba (bird), Bill (alligator), da (that, there), dadada (ice cream), no-my (not me, not mine), tutu (train), tututu (cutting). Also, there are 16 words that were originally English but are now used in everyday Japanese conversation as loan words. It is quite easy to discriminate loan words from the original English words, however, because of the phonological differences, particularly the shifting from English /l/ to Japanese /r/. Thus out of 16 possible cognates, I recognised 6 as Japanese words: juice/*jusu*, banana/*banana*, byebye/*baibai*, toast/*tosuto*, table/*teburu*, ball/*boru*.. All had shifted from English to Japanese during the period of my study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a revised version of my unpublished M.A thesis from Lancaster University, 1993. I would like to add my gratitude toward Stephen Ryan, who helped and encouraged me writing this paper.

REFERENCES

Clancy, P. M. (1985). The Acquisition of Japanese. In D. I. Slobin (ed). *The Cross-linguistic Study of Language Acquisition*. Hillsdale: Laurence Erlbaum Associate, Inc.

Deuchar, M. (1994). Do Two-Word Utterances by Bilingual Children Show Evidence of Code-switching? In the report on summer school, "Code-switching and language contact", 14-17 September, 1994; Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, The Netherlands.

Fujita Round, S.(1993). Do Bilinguals Acquire Two Languages as One System? In partial fulfilment of the M.A. course requirements, submitted for the Language Acquisition course, Lancaster University.

Gopnik, A. (1981). Why the First Words Aren't About Things. In P.S. Dale & D. Ingram (eds). *Child Language: An International Perspective*. Baltimore: University Park Press.

Itoh, K. (1990). *Kodomo no Kotoba* (Child Language). Tokyo: Keisosha.

Klausen, T., Subritzky, M. S. and Hayashi, M. (1993). Initial Production of Inflections in Bilingual Children. In Messer and Turner (ed.). *Critical Influences on Child Language Acquisition and Development*. Macmillan Press Ltd.

Lanza, E. (1992) Can Bilingual Two-Year-Olds Code-Switch? *The Journal of Child Language, 19*, pp. 633-658.

McLaughlin, B. (1984) *Second-Language Acquisition in Childhood: Volume 1. Preschool Children*. (Second Edition). Hillsdale: Laurence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Saunders, G. (1988). *Bilingual Children: From Birth to Teens*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Taeschner, T (1983). Does the Bilingual Child Possess Twice the Lexicon of the Monolingual Child? *Rassenga Italiana di Linguistica Applica*, Vol. 15, pp.179-188.

Vihman, M. M. (1985) Language Differentiation by the Bilingual Infant. *Journal of Child Language*, 12, pp. 297-324

Volterra, V and Taeschner, T (1978) The Acquisition and Development of Language by Bilingual Children. *Journal of Child Language*, 5, pp 311-326.

Japanese Compliment Responses:
A Comparison to American English Norms

Ueda Yoko
Sophia Computer College, Osaka
email: yueda@gol.com

This study considers how Japanese cultural and social values are reflected in responses to compliments, comparing them to American cultural norms described in earlier research by Pomerantz (1975, 1978), Wolfson (1981, 1983) and Manes (1983). Fifteen young Japanese studying at the University of South Carolina were brought together on several occasions and their conversations were recorded and transcribed in detail. Twenty exchanges that involved some type of compliment and response were identified and analyzed. A variety of responses was observed, ranging from rejection, which is regarded as standard or ideal Japanese behavior, to acceptance, which could be thought to signal problematic behavior in Japanese situations. Methods of dealing with problematic behavior, including laughter, were also analyzed in terms of Japanese cultural values.

＜褒め言葉に対する日本人の応答～アメリカの一般例と比較して＞

一般的に日本人は褒め言葉を否定し米国人は受け入れると思われているが、実際はどうなのだろうか？この質問に答えるべく、論文では日本人の実例を紹介し、米国人の例と比較しながら、そこにどのように文化的社会的価値観が反映されているか述べている。米国人の褒め言葉とその応答に関するデータや資料は、Pomerantz (1975, 1978)、Wolfson (1981, 1983)や Manes (1983)などの研究を参考にした。また日本人のデータは米国のサウスカロライナ州立大学の１５人の日本人留学生間の会話の中から得た。彼らに５・６人ずつ何回かアパートの居間に集まってもらい自然な状態での会話を録音した。そして、約１５の褒め言葉とその応答のデータを得、内容別に分類し、分析を試みた。その中で、標準的だと思われている否定あるいは否定的応答や、標準的ではないと思われている肯定的応答などさまざまな応答が論じられている。さらに肯定的応答の際起こる日本人の笑いについても分析し、その文化的背景についても説明している。

INTRODUCTION

Complimenting behavior has been shown to be an area of communication that may vary greatly between cultures (c.f. Pomerantz, 1975, 1978; Wolfson, 1981, 1983; Manes, 1983). Although the language used in making and responding to compliments is often formulaic, the frequency and function of compliments differ from culture to culture. Thus, Wolfson (1981) asserts that especially in this area,

> If true communication is to take place among people who come from differing cultural backgrounds, and if interference is to be minimized in second language learning, then we must have cross-cultural comparisons of rules of speaking. (Wolfson, 1981, p. 123)

It is the purpose of this study to try to add to the body of knowledge in this area by examining Japanese responses to compliments and comparing them with the norms of American English outlined by Pomerantz (1978) and Manes (1983). I would like to consider how Japanese cultural and social values are reflected in responses to compliments in which the recipient or a close associate is being praised. This area was chosen because it shows an interesting cultural contrast and a common point of difficulty for those studying Japanese as a second language (Young & Nakajima, 1984; Mizutani, 1979). I will start by reviewing past research on American norms and then outline conventional Japanese rules in this area.

American and Japanese Norms

In analyzing American norms of responding to compliments, Pomerantz (1978) notes that recipients of compliments have to resolve a conflict between two different values: the need to agree with the speaker and the virtue of humility. She explains that this is because compliments are a type of "supportive ritual" (see Goffman, 1976) required by considerations such as politeness or etiquette. Moreover, as Wolfson explains, compliments are used as a social strategy to maintain rapport (1983, p. 86). A denial of the contents of the compliment therefore constitutes a rejection of the expression of support or solidarity (Manes, 1983). On the other hand, acceptance could be viewed as a sign of conceit (Manes, 1983). Thus Pomerantz points out that "the recipient of a compliment faces a conflict in that accepting the compliment and agreeing with the speaker may be seen as self-praise, while at the same time it is impolite to disagree and reject the compliment outright".

Americans therefore use a number of "strategies to avoid or minimize this conflict." The most common is to respond to a compliment by saying "Thank you," thereby accepting the compliment

"without explicitly agreeing with its content" (Manes, 1983, p. 100). The following example is cited by Manes as a typical American compliment and response exchange.

Example 1
A: I like your outfit.
B: Thank you. I wanted to wear it while I could. Pretty soon it'll be too cold.
Situation: *A is a white female, age 20. B is a black female, same age. Both are salesclerks in a department store. Exchange takes place just after B arrives at work.* (Manes, 1983, p. 98)

Manes goes on to cite a few other examples of another frequently used strategy: "to deny or play down the worth of the thing complimented *without overtly denying the compliment*." She explains that "this is done by focusing attention on some quality other than that specifically complimented." For example, when a young woman comments that another's house is "adorable," the hostess responds, "'Yes, it's really small, though.' ....in effect saying, 'Yes, it is adorable, *but* it's small.'" Manes notes that "the quality most frequently denied in responses to compliments on attractiveness is newness." On the other hand, when one is praised as a result of talent, s/he may downplay it by saying that it was due to luck. Similarly, someone praised for their work will often respond that it was easy or that no special effort was involved (Manes, 1983, pp. 100 -101).

It should be noted, however, that in none of the examples cited by Manes did the recipient of the compliment overtly contradict its contents. It appears that the words "Thank you," "Well", "Oh", etc. may follow a compliment, but generally not the word "No." According to Pomerantz (1978), the model of standard behavior in American society is the acceptance of compliments; therefore, outright rejection may constitute reportable, puzzling, or troublesome behavior.

In contrast, it is generally accepted in Japanese society that people should not accept compliments referring directly to themselves or their possessions (Young & Nakajima, 1984; Mizutani, 1979). The following exchange from my own study (explained below) appears to offer support for this theory that rejection of compliments is the Japanese norm.

Example 2
A: *Sutekina shatsu ne.*
"It is a nice shirt, isn't it?"
[
B: *Uun yasumono yo.*
"No, it is cheap (so it is not good)."

Although the Japanese subject B in Example 2 receives a compliment that is similar to that received by the American subject B in Example 1, the Japanese recipient rejects the compliment outright and explains this rejection with a negative evaluation of the object of praise.

This difference and some of the problems that might arise from it were suggested in early studies on compliments themselves. Wolfson (1981, 1983) and Manes (1983) collected a large corpus of data on compliments from a number of cultures, and cross-cultural comparisons were made. They had native speakers of other languages gather examples of compliment-and-response exchanges in their language and translate them into English so that they could be analyzed. Among their examples were the following exchanges that were originally made in Japanese, although only the English translations were reported (Wolfson, 1981, pp. 118-119).

Example 3
S: The hat is really good. It suits you very well
A: Oh, is that right? It's warm.

Example 4
S: This is nice. Did you buy it in New York?
A: No, it's old. There's something wrong with the strap.

Example 5
S: Your earrings are pure gold, aren't they?
A: Yes, they are. They must be pure gold when you put them on.
S: Money is a necessary condition to become attractive, indeed.
A: I think so, too.

In analyzing these exchanges, Wolfson points out that the compliments in Examples 3 and 4 show a great deal of resemblance to American English compliments. She does note, however, that it is difficult for Americans to accept the idea shown in Example 5 as a compliment. Instead, she suggests that Americans might regard such an exchange as small talk. Thus she suggests that Americans and Japanese share some assumptions about compliments, but not all. She also stresses that "the very fact that such similarities exist may lead to more serious misunderstandings than would otherwise occur" when non native speakers of English do deviate from American rules (Wolfson, 1981, p. 119).

Although the observation focus of Wolfson's research was the compliments themselves, these examples also suggest the above-mentioned difference in response patterns between American and Japanese cultures. Neither of the recipients in Examples 3 and 4 accepts the compliments. In Example 3, the recipient seems to express surprise at the idea that the hat might be attractive, while in Example 4, the recipient responds with a negative evaluation of the object of praise.

Thus it would appear that in Japanese society, the value of humility takes precedence over the need for agreement with the speaker. It might be suggested, then, that in contrast to Pomerantz' model of standard American behavior, in Japanese society, the acceptance of compliments may constitute reportable, puzzling, or troublesome behavior.

To test this hypothesis and clarify how the ideal or preferred performance in Japanese situations differs from that of standard American culture, I collected a small corpus of Japanese compliment-and-response exchanges and analyzed the patterns of response. Because the number of exchanges recorded was small (14), my analysis is necessarily limited to a typology of the responses, and generalizations cannot be made about the frequency or contexts of use. Moreover, because the subjects were all of the same age and social status, and the situation in which the data was collected was not completely natural and may have been influenced by the surrounding culture, the findings of this study are far from conclusive. Nonetheless, it is hoped that this will serve as a first step in making cross-cultural comparisons of the rules of speaking in this area, and that the resulting awareness of differences will facilitate the study and teaching of Japanese as a second language, while also helping Japanese learners of English as a second language and their teachers.

METHOD

This study was based on an analysis of tape-recorded conversations in Japanese. Sacks discusses the significance of this deductive method of analyzing tape-recorded conversations as follows:

> The detailed ways in which actual, naturally occurring social activities occur are subjectable to formal description. Social activities - actual, singular sequences of them - are methodical occurrences. That is, their description consists of the description of sets of formal procedures persons employ. The methods persons employ to produce their activities permit formal description of singular occurrences that are generalizable in intuitively nonapparent ways and are highly reproducibly usable. (Sacks, 1984, p. 21)

To examine Japanese responses to praise, then, a number of native speakers of Japanese were brought together on several occasions and their conversations were recorded and transcribed in detail.

The study was conducted in the United States, and the subjects were all young native Japanese speaking students of equal status at the University of South Carolina. There were fifteen subjects, eight female and seven male. Their ages ranged from twenty to thirty.

I recruited subjects by asking friends to participate and to invite other friends as well. Given the limited number of available native Japanese speakers in the area, it was felt that this was the most practical method of obtaining conversations in as relaxed and natural a setting as possible.

The students were invited in groups to my home or my friend's home. The conversations took place in the living room of the home, over lunch. In each instance, all conversation was in Japanese. The participants were aware that research was being conducted and that their conversation was being recorded, but they did not know the specific area of study. They were asked to talk as they usually would. To elicit compliment responses, I purposely paid more compliments during our conversations than would normally be made in Japanese society.

RESULTS

I recorded and transcribed ten hours of conversation. From this data, I was able to collect about twenty exchanges that involved some type of compliment and a response to it. Compliments were identified as "expression[s] of positive evaluation" referring to a person, his or her possessions,

family, close friends and so on (Wolfson, 1983, p. 85). Exchanges involving such expressions were transcribed in detail and the types of responses were analyzed. A variety of responses was observed, ranging from rejection, which, as mentioned above, is regarded as standard or ideal Japanese behavior, to acceptance, which could be thought to signal problematic behavior in Japanese situations. The results are presented and analyzed below.

Rejection or Avoidance

As may have been expected considering the Japanese cultural ideal, examples of overt rejection of compliments were observed, as seen in Example 6 below. (Notation of the transcripts follows Atkinson and Heritage, 1984. See Appendix for details.)

Example 6
Situation: *A is looking at food which B prepared.*
A: *Waa: : : oishiso.*
"Oh: : : it looks delicious."
B: *Iie, oishiku nain desu kedo: : :*
"No, it is not delicious, but: : :"

Another exchange included a profession of embarrassment on the part of the recipient of the compliment. Although this may not appear to be an outright rejection of the contents of the compliment, the expression employed is a common Japanese formula used to avoid praise.

Example 7
Situation: *A is eating a cake which B made.*
A: *Oishii: : :*
"It is delicious: : :"
B: *Sonna ni ossharanaide kudasai.*
"Please don't make so much of it."

These examples can be seen as prototypical Japanese patterns for rejecting praise. After the first speaker produces a compliment, the recipient rejects it outright or asks the interlocutor to stop, so as to avoid being in the embarrassing position of receiving praise.

Rejection Plus Negative Evaluation of Referent

In the following example from my data, rejection of praise is coupled with a negative evaluation of the referent.

Example 8
A: *Gomyo-san tte ossharu no. Ii namae desu ne.*
"Your name is Ms. Gomyo. It's a nice name."

(0.8)

B: *Iie, warui koto shitara sugu wakarushi, ikkai de oboerarerushi: : :*
"No. If I do something wrong, people know who I am right away, and they remember my name the first time they hear it."

In this conversation, the recipient may be softening her denial of the contents of the other speaker's comment by offering an explanation for her rejection of the praise. A similar pattern can be seen in Example 2 above.

Negative Evaluation of Referent

In the following excerpt, the recipient responded to praise by simply negating the value of the referent.

Example 9
Situation: *A is eating a meal which B made.*
A: *Oishii desu nee.*
"It's delicious, isn't it!"

B: *Insutanto yo.*
"It is instant."

Here, the recipient's negative evaluation of the object of praise can be seen to function as a rejection of the compliment. A similar pattern can be seen in Example 4 above.

It should be noted that while the first two types of Japanese responses to compliments I have shown are quite different from American patterns in that they involve overt denials of the contents of the compliment, this third type is very similar to the kind of downplaying of the value of the referent described by Manes as a strategy frequently used by Americans to avoid outright acceptance of compliments (Manes, 1983, pp. 100 - 101).

So far I have shown three types of compliment responses from the data: outright rejection, rejection plus negative evaluation of the referent, and simple negative evaluation of the referent. All three can be interpreted as rejections of the contents of the praise. This trend stands in contrast to the typical American response to compliments seen in Example 1.

Considering these patterns in light of the above-mentioned conflict between the need to maintain solidarity and a desire not to appear conceited (Pomerantz, 1978), we may surmise that Japanese people, like Americans, are afraid of being seen as self-praising or conceited in accepting a compliment. However, unlike Americans, they do not face the conflict cited by Pomerantz because rejection of a compliment is not considered impolite in Japanese culture. Outright rejections are acceptable.

In the following sections, I will argue that my data suggests a different conflict, one that occurs when Japanese speakers choose not to reject praise and instead, accept the compliment in some way. I will try to show that this conflict is evident in laughter (often a sign of embarrassment in Japanese discourse) on the part of the giver and/or the recipient of the compliment. I will also try to explain this laughter. To do this, I will look at the various types of compliment responses that involved laughter.

Rejection or Negative Evaluation Accompanied by Laughter

The first two examples from my data showing the use of laughter involve standard Japanese patterns of praise rejection. In Example 10, the recipient rejects the compliment outright and laughs, but there is a pause between the rejection and the laughter.

Example 10
Situation: *A and B, both female students, have been talking about the well-regulated life B leads.*

A: *Goryoshin no kyoiku ga ii no ne.*
"Your parents gave you a good education, didn't they."

B: *Iie,* (0.3) Hahhhhhhh
"No"

Although it is rarely possible to determine exactly what laughter means, its use in this case, where the recipient of the compliment is following standard Japanese practice and rejecting the praise, could be attributed to joy at the contents of the praise. On the other hand, it could also be a sign of embarrassment of some sort, since, as mentioned above, laughter is often used in Japanese discourse to signal such discomfort. In this case, in order to conform to the Japanese norm for dealing with compliments, the recipient had to reject the idea that his parents gave him a good education. This could be seen as problematic, since in Japanese society, parents are viewed as objects of respect. Thus, the laughter here could indicate embarrassment at appearing not to feel conventional filial piety.

A variation on the use of laughter when rejecting a compliment is seen in Example 11. Here, laughter is produced directly after the recipient gives a negative evaluation of the referent, and the speakers who had offered the compliments join in the laughter.

Example 11
Situation: *A and B, both female students, are complimenting C, the male host of the lunch party, about the dishes used to serve the meal.*

A: *Sutekina osara desu nee: :*
" These are nice dishes, aren't they: ."

B: *Hontoni suteki.*
"Really nice."

C: *Koreshika nain desu.* Hahhhhhhhhh
"They're all we have."
[
A: Hahhhhhhhh
[
B: Hahhhhhhhh

In this example, as in Example 10, the recipient's laughter may be interpreted as a sign of joy at the compliment. It could also be seen as an attempt to avoid a more explicit verbal response. The Japanese phrase "*waratte gomakasu*" (to use laughter to avoid making an explicit response) suggests a Japanese tendency to laugh when one wants to conceal something or feels that one cannot express what s/he is feeling or thinking. The recipient of the compliment in this case may simply be at a loss as to how to respond. This could also be why the recipient of the compliment in Example 10 laughed when he failed to continue to respond verbally after initially rejecting the praise.

On the other hand, the laughter in Example 11 may be a sign of embarrassment of some kind, much as it was thought to be in Example 10. Certainly embarrassment makes it difficult to express one's feelings. And as argued by Pomerantz (1978), compliments create the embarrassing possibility of the recipient appearing to be conceited unless s/he denies the content. Thus the recipient in Example 11 may have laughed to indicate discomfort at being the object of praise.

Thus there appear to be three possible explanations for the laughter in Examples 10 and 11: that it signaled joy at the praise, indicated embarrassment of some kind, or was a strategy to avoid an explicit response. I would now like to try to analyze the use of laughter in such situations further by looking at a number of examples in which the recipients of compliments did not follow the Japanese ideal, and the response consisted entirely of laughter or was accompanied by laughter.

Responding With Laughter Alone

Among the responses to compliments in my data, I found two in which the recipients failed to respond verbally to the praise, but laughed instead. In the first example, the laughter is initiated by the recipients of the compliment.

Example 12
A: *Ii koe desu ne.*
"You have nice voices."
(0.5)
B: Hahhhhhhhh
[
C: Huhhhhhhhh

The laughter here may be interpreted to be a profession of embarrassment at receiving praise, much like the set phrase used in Example 7. On the other hand, it could also be viewed as a strategy to avoid an explicit response, as was suggested for Example 11, or sign of joy at receiving praise, as was suggested for Examples 10 and 11.

We see another case in which the recipient of a compliment failed to respond verbally in Example 13. Here, however, it is the person offering the praise who laughs first and then the recipient of the compliment joins in without responding verbally to the praise.

Example 13
A: *Sutekina kagu desu ne.* Hahhhhhhhh
" You have nice furniture, don't you."
[
B: Hahhhhhhhh

In this case, the person who offered the compliment laughed, and did so before the recipient of the compliment responded. The laughter immediately followed the compliment. This might be interpreted as a sign of empathy: Speaker A may have felt the potential embarrassment that could be caused by her compliment and laughed to show her empathy with the recipient. Similarly, participant C in

Example 12 may have joined the recipient of the compliment (B) in laughter because C empathized with the embarrassment felt in having to deal with a compliment.

Acceptance Accompanied by Laughter

Although rejection of compliments is seen as the Japanese ideal, the data collected in this study included examples of recipients who deviated from this norm and accepted the praise offered. In the two examples shown below, acceptance of the compliment was accompanied by laughter.

Example 14

A: *Mori-kun no seta suteki nee: :*
"Mr. Mori's (your) sweater is very nice."

B: *Ii deshoo?* Hahhhhhhh
"It is nice, isn't it?"
[
A: Hahhhhhhh

Example 15

A: *Yoku benkyo shimasu ne.*
"You study a lot, don't you."

B: *Ee,* (0.5) *gakusei desu kara.* Hahhhh
"Yes. (0.5) I am a student."
[
A: Hahhhhh

The laughter accompanying acceptance of these compliments may be seen as a sign of embarrassment at breaking the rules of Japanese conversation. The reason for breaking the rules is hard to determine: are there cases in which Japanese people feel it is all right to accept a compliment - when talking to someone with whom one is relatively intimate and who is of the same status, for example? Or were the subjects perhaps influenced by the cultural milieu they were in? This is quite possible, since their purpose in coming to the United States was to study English. This is an area that deserves more study.

In any case, I would like to point out the fact that in both of the above examples, the givers of praise joined the recipients in laughing after they had accepted the compliment. I will discuss this in more detail below.

The next exchange from my data also included laughter, but in this case, it was initiated not by the recipient of the compliment, but by the person giving the compliments. In this prolonged exchange, the recipient responded with the verbalizations "*Uhn*" and "*Huun*". These are not "words" in the strictest sense. They are a type of response known as *aizuchi* in Japanese. *Aizuchi* are used frequently in Japanese conversation; they are a signal that the conversation partner is listening to and understanding what is being said, and they also are used to encourage a speaker to keep talking. As such, they are considered essential to the smooth progress of a Japanese conversation (Mizutani, 1988; Komiya, 1986).

In Example 16, the recipient of the compliments used *aizuchi* repetitively instead of clearly accepting or rejecting the compliments made about his wife. Because the repeated use of this type of conversational facilitator did not place restraining pressure on the speaker (Spees, 1994), speaker A reasserted the praise, making it stronger with each turn at talk.

Example 16

Situation: *A , a female student who is a friend of both the husband and wife who are hosting the party, is talking to the husband, Akio (B) about his wife Maki.*

A: *Maki-san wa sugoi ninki desu yo.*
"Maki (your wife) is very popular."

B: *Uhun.*

A: *Otoko no ko kara tokuni sugoi ninki desu yo.* Huhhh
"She is very popular especially among male students."
[
B: *Huun*

A: *Shinpai desu ne.* Hahhhh
"It's a bit worrying, isn't it?"
[
B: *Huun*

A: *Akio-san no mae dewa ienai kedo.* Hahhhh
"I should not say such a thing in front of Akio (you)."
[
B: *Iya*: : :Hahhhhh
"Shucks ..."

In the above conversation, the increasingly strong compliments were accompanied by laughter on the part of Speaker A. This continued as long as the recipient of the compliments continued to respond with *aizuchi* instead of clearly accepting or rejecting the compliments. When Speaker B finally hesitatingly accepted the praise of his wife, both the praise-giver and the recipient laughed together.

I would now like to try to analyze the laughter that occurred in the cases above where the recipient did not follow the Japanese ideal and instead, either failed to respond verbally or accepted the praise. In all of the examples of this type from my data, both the speaker and recipient laughed when the recipient failed to respond verbally or accepted the compliment. Since rejection of praise constitutes standard behavior in Japanese, failing to respond or accepting praise could be seen as puzzling behavior. Thus, the conversation partner was faced with the dilemma of deciding how to respond. Laughter, which as mentioned above, is a common signal of embarrassment in Japanese discourse, would be one way to indicate this awkwardness. Both the person who offered the praise and the recipient could have been producing laughter as a display to deal with the problem behavior.

This display seemed to solve the dilemma in these examples. Once the recipient and the giver of the praise laughed together, the giver no longer seemed to expect a verbal response. Nor did the recipient appear to feel a need to respond verbally. In this regard the role of laughter may be considered to be a way of completing conversations with harmony.

Jefferson (1984, p. 348) claims that in American English, "laughing together is a valued occurrence which can be the product of methodic, coordinate activities". My Japanese examples which included laughter provided evidence that Japanese may place a similar value on laughing together. By laughing together, participants appear to complete what Goffman (1976) calls "ritual interchanges". He describes such events as follows:

> The participants have arrived at a place which each finds viable, each having acquitted himself with an acceptable amount of self-constraint and respect for the others present. (Goffman, 1976, p. 266)

Thus, laughter appeared to help the Japanese conversation partners complete their ritual interchange with harmony. Seward, in discussing Japanese interpersonal relationships, states that "the Japanese felt --- and still feel --- that it is better to be harmonious than right" (1968, pp. 36 -37). Furthermore, as pointed out by Hinds (1976) and Miller (1994) among others, Japanese culture values harmony over confrontation and indirectness over directness. I believe this tendency accounts for the use of laughter at the completion of these conversations, for it allows the participants to smooth over breeches of convention and thus avoid confrontation.

Acceptance Without Laughter

Interestingly enough, my data included some cases in which compliments were accepted without the use of laughter. I would now like to examine these cases to see how they may have differed from those in which laughter occurred.

Example 17
A: *Okasan wa ii kata ne.*
"Your mother is a nice person."

B: *Ee* (0.5) *sonkei shite imasu.*
"Yes, (0.5) I respect my mother."

A: *Soo?*
"Is that so?"

Example 18

A: *Sensei wa ii kata deshoo.*
"Your professor must be a nice person."

B: *Ee, hijoni mo zenmenteki ni osewa ni natte imasu.*
"Yes, he has helped me so much in so many ways."

(0.4) *Koko ni koretanomo sensei no okage desu.*
(0.4) "It was his help that made it possible for me come here (Univ. of South Carolina), too."

A: *Soo desu ka.*
"Is that so?"

There is no laughter in either of the above conversations even though the recipients accept the praise. Moreover, the people offering the compliments, rather than laughing at the acceptance, show their understanding by saying "*soo*" and "*soo desu ka*".

The difference between these examples and Examples 14 through 16, where laughter occured when recipients accepted compliments, may be seen to lie in the objects of the compliments. In Examples 17 and 18, the first speaker's comments praised the recipient's mother and professor, respectively. While both parents and mentors are considered to belong within a person's inner circle (although a parent is obviously much closer than a mentor), Japanese society also views both as worthy of respect. For this reason, people often accept praise about them. Thus interpreted, acceptance of the compliment in these two examples is neither problematic nor puzzling. This also supports the initial interpretation of Example 10, in which the recipient of a compliment about the upbringing his parents had given him laughed after rejecting the praise. He may well have been embarrassed at contravening the Japanese norm of respecting his parents, even though he had adhered to another norm by rejecting a compliment. Thus we have further evidence that laughter in Japanese conversation is often a signal of nonstandard behavior that creates some embarrassment or awkwardness.

CONCLUSION

Although rejection of compliments was posited as the Japanese ideal, in fact, a variety of responses to compliments were found, and the givers of praise reacted accordingly. A simple outline of the Japanese ideal as opposed to the actual findings are presented in Chart 1 below.

CHART 1. Japanese Responses to Compliments

Theory	Actual Responses	Reaction by Partner
Standard: Rejection	Rejection alone	Acceptance
	Avoidance	Acceptance
	Rejection + Negative evaluation of referent	Acceptance
	(+ laughter)	Laughter
	Negative evaluation of referent (+ laughter)	Acceptance (laughter)
Problem behavior: Acceptance	Laughter alone	Acceptance
	Acceptance (+ laughter or hesitation)	Laughter/Avoidance of overt acceptance when referent is closely tied to recipient/Acceptance when referent is standard object of respect

It may be stated that in general, the responses seen in the data reflect the Japanese cultural values of harmony, modesty, and humility (Seward, 1968; Spees, 1994), and show how these values can be maintained and expressed when compliments are given. The data also suggests a range of acceptable behavior as well as discourse mechanisms to deal with problematic behavior. However, many of these mechanisms differ considerably from American norms described in earlier research. In particular, the social acceptability of rejection of compliments in Japanese stands in stark contrast to the American norm of avoiding such rejections. Moreover, the use of laughter, presumably to signal joy, relieve embarrassment or allow the recipient of a compliment to avoid having to respond verbally, would also appear to differ from standard American behavior.

However, because of the limitations in the data, including the size of the sample, the lack of variation in age and status of the subjects, the slightly artificial nature of the conversations (particularly the use of more compliments than usual in Japanese discourse), and the fact that the subjects were in a different cultural milieu studying the language of that culture at the time the study took place, the results can only be seen as tentative. A far larger corpus, collected in a wide range of natural conversational settings in Japan, needs to be collected and analyzed not only for the types of responses, but also for the frequency of each type and the contexts in which it is used, to allow more conclusive generalizations to be made.

Future research on compliment responses should also involve careful analysis of third person compliments, i.e., compliments of parties who are not present. Other speech acts such as invitations, offers, and requests, as well as the function of laughter in Japanese conversation also need to be studied. In each case, cross-cultural analysis is necessary because speech acts and non-verbal communication reflect social and cultural norms and values, and comparison makes these clearly understood.

Often, if we can understand the forms and functions of speech acts and non-verbal communication in our own culture, it becomes easier to understand, accept, and use the forms required by another language and culture. Also, cross-cultural comparisons are a powerful tool to attain awareness of our own culture. It is hoped that this research will be helpful to those trying to understand Japanese culture and language. Beyond mere words, the ability to respond in expected and appropriate ways to daily speech acts is necessary for learners of Japanese if they are to be able to find their place in Japanese society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the journal editor, Mary Goebel Noguchi, two anonymous reviewers and Alton Cole for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

REFERENCES

Atkinson, J. M. and J. Heritage (Ed.). (1984). *Structure of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1976). Replies and Responses. *Language in Society*, 5, pp. 257-313.

Hinds, J. (1976). *Aspects of Japanese Discourse Structure*. Tokyo. Kaitakusha.

Jefferson, G. (1984). On the Organization of Laughter in Talk About Troubles. In J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (ed.), pp. 346-369.

Komiya, C. (1986). *Aizuchi Shiyo no Jittai: Shutsugen Keiko to Sono Shuhen. Gogaku Kyoiku Kenkyu Ronbunshu 3, 43-63. Daito Bunka Daigaku Kyoiku Kenkyujo.*

Manes, J. (1983). Compliments: A Mirror of Cultural Values. In N. Wolfson and E. Judd (ed.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 82-95). New York: Newbury House.

Miller, L. (1994). Japanese and American Indirectness. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 5, pp. 37 - 55.

Mizutani, N. (1988). *Aizuchiron. Nihongogaku* 7. 4-11.

Mizutani, O. & N. Mizutani. (1979). *Nihongo Notes 1*. Tokyo: Japan Times.

Pomerantz, A. M. (1975). Second Assessments: A Study of Some Features of Agreements/Disagreements. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Irvine.

_____. (1978). Compliment Responses: Notes on the Co-operation of Multiple Constraints. In Schenkein, J. N (ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction* (pp. 79-112). New York: Academic Press.

Sacks, H. (1984). Notes on Methodology. In J. M Atkinson and J Heritage (ed.), pp. 21-27.

Seward, J. (1968). *Japanese in Action*. New York: Weatherhill.

Spees, H. (1994). "*Aizuchi*" in Japanese. Unpublished manuscript. Minnesota University.

Wolfson, N. (1981). Compliments in Cross-Cultural Perspective. *TESOL Quarterly*, 15-2, pp. 117-124.

_____. (1983). An Empirically Based Analysis of Complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson and E. Judd (ed.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 82-95). New York: Newbury House.

Young, J. and K. Nakajima. (1984). *Learn Japanese 1: College Text.* Honolulu: East-West Center Press for University College.

APPENDIX
Transcript Notation

1. Sequencing

[	A single bracket indicates the point of overlap.
=	The equal signs indicate no interval between the end of one turn at talk and the beginning of the next.
(0.0)	Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in tenths of seconds.

2. Sound-Production

?	A question marker is not used as a grammatical symbol, but for question- intonation.
: : :	Colon(s) indicate that the prior syllable is prolonged. Multiple colons indicate more prolonged syllable.
__	Underscoring indicates various forms of stressing, and may involve pitch and/or volume.
UC	Upper case indicates increased volume.

(Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: pp. ix-xvi)

BOOK REVIEWS

Loos, Noel &Takeshi Osanai. 1993. *Indigenous Minorities and Education: Australian and Japanese Perspectives of their Indigenous Peoples, the Ainu, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.* Tokyo: Sanyusha. 424pp.

Published to mark the International Year of Indigenous Peoples, this collection of papers by researchers connected with James Cook University of North Queensland and Hokkaido University of Education brings together information and views on the history, current state and future prospects of three groups of indigenous peoples.

Australian Aborigines are familiar to most of us in their incarnation as desert-dwelling nomads with a strong spiritual bond to the land. Many of the authors in this collection, though, are at pains to point out what a disservice this image does to the Aborigine peoples. Resident in Australia for tens of thousands of years, they once inhabited every part of the continent with life-styles as diverse as the land's geographic zones: fishing villages, agricultural settlements and, yes, nomadic hunter-gatherers, too. Their archaeological sites reveal the earliest evidence of human cremation and of ocean-going transport in the world.

Less familiar to many of us are the Torres Strait Islanders. Their islands lie scattered across the channel between the far northern tip of Australia and the southern coast of Papua New Guinea. Ethnically and culturally distinct from Aborigines, the Islanders have, nevertheless, suffered similar hardships since white colonisation and have fought similar battles to regain their rights. It was a group of Islanders who, in 1992, won a historic court decision which undermines the entire legal basis of European colonisation of the islands and the mainland.

Closer to home, the Ainu have long been regarded by mainstream Japanese society as a dying race. This book makes it clear that if the race is indeed dying, it is as a direct result of mainstream Japanese policy. Long the butt of trickery and discrimination, the Ainu people were, at the start of the Meiji period, dispossessed of the land on which they had hunted and gathered for centuries to make room for settlers from other parts of Japan. Since then, various relief measures have been enacted "to smooth the pillow of the dying race" (a resonant phrase originally applied to Aborigine policy but which well reflects official attitudes to all three peoples over the last hundred years).

The book, in a series of independent essays, gives detailed accounts of the history and cultures of these peoples and charts the steps they have taken to reassert their rights against overwhelming official complacency. It provides a wealth of insights into the ways, the problems and the aspirations of the three peoples. The essays are readable, well-translated (in the case of those originally written in Japanese), well-edited so that there is some overlap in content but not enough to be annoying, fascinating accounts by people who know the Ainu, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and care deeply about their rights. Most of the authors are academics although some are political or cultural leaders of the people they write about. The approach is eclectic: there are official policy documents, lesson-plans, a post-modernist critique of the naming of colonised people, a case-study, accounts of legal subtleties and socio-cultural descriptions. Throughout the collection, though, there is a strong conviction that these peoples have a right to be heard and to be recognised as distinct peoples.

It is a mystery to me how the word "Education" got into the title. The book is no more about education than it is about archaeology, folklore or court proceedings. All of these elements play an important role in the book but none of them is dominant. The essays which do deal directly with education fall into two groups: those concerned with the education given to the indigenous peoples and those that deal with education about the peoples.

The first group makes painful reading. Education policy was used with deliberation and calculation to destroy Ainu culture and language as viable concerns. Within a generation, these goals were achieved and Ainu children were "integrated" into Wa-jin schools, although dark references are made in several essays to the discrimination and bullying they face there. In Australia, it is the withholding of education which has done most of the damage, with Torres Strait Island schools staffed entirely by untrained teachers as late as the 1970's. This policy has now changed and campaigners have switched to demands for greater input from the indigenous peoples into all levels of education, including the implementation of teaching methods compatible with indigenous learning styles.

The essays which deal with education about indigenous peoples are brimming with ideas for helping students to empathise with the peoples: through dance and song, exploration of the meaning of "hunter-gatherer," and traditional stories. These ideas come from both Australia and Japan. An analysis of the presentation of the Ainu in Ministry-approved textbooks in Japan, however, makes much grimmer reading. Yukio Takegahara is able to analyse every word the textbooks devote to Ainu issues in his 10-page essay, since so little is said about them.

An essay by Anna Shnukal traces the development of bilinguality on the Torres Strait Islands. Another outlines the difficulties of reconstructing dying Aboriginal languages and a third pleads for the revival of the Ainu language. However, this book provides slim pickings for those whose interest is purely linguistic.

This book succeeds admirably in educating the reader about issues confronting its three indigenous peoples and in arguing that they should have the right to function as distinct communities. It is less successful at justifying the decision to treat the indigenous people of Australia and Japan (and only them) together in one book. There are parallels but it is mainly left to the reader to figure them out. Only one essay, the final one, attempts to address the situation in both countries. Even then, it is not clear that the parallels are instructive: do the disparate peoples covered here have lessons to teach each other? I am not sure but I am certainly better informed about each of them than I was before reading the book.

Reviewed by Stephen M. Ryan, Osaka Institute of Technology

Loveday, Leo J. 1996. *Language Contact in Japan: A Socio-linguistic History*. Oxford University Press. 238pp.

The idea that Japan is a culturally and linguistically homogenous nation that until very recently was almost completely isolated from the rest of the world is slowly being revealed to be a myth. *Language Contact in Japan* pushes it one step further towards its eventual demise.

This new work by Leo Loveday, which grew out of the author's Ph.D. thesis, is really two books in one. The first third gives an introduction to the study of language contact, with explanations of the main types of language contact settings, as well as a brief history of Japanese contact with Asian and European languages. Here we learn that language contact has been a major factor in shaping Japanese culture since ancient times, and that at several points in the nation's history, the Japanese elite were bilingual. In the early stages of contact with Chinese culture at the dawn of written Japanese history, the nobility learned not only written but also spoken Chinese, in many cases studying with native speakers. Later, during the Meiji Period, university professors would often give their lectures in a European language, showing that not only they, but also their students, were bilingual. Loveday's accounts of these language contact settings make fascinating reading and easily refute the popular notion that the Japanese are incapable of learning foreign languages.

Having provided this background information, Loveday moves on to the heart of his work: a detailed analysis of language contact in contemporary Japan, as evidenced in the wide-scale use of foreign and loan words--mostly of European origin. Loveday gives special attention to the role of English in advertising and the ubiquitous use of English and/or *romaji* on commercial products, especially in the field of popular entertainment. After analyzing this borrowing on a linguistic level, he goes on to present the results of a large-scale survey he conducted on the use of, understanding of and attitude toward "foreignisms" by the Japanese themselves. Finally, he provides an insightful overview of the social and psychological motivations for using foreignisms and the various social functions that such use fulfills today.

This work offers a wealth of information on a wide range of language contact in Japan, and as such, is a welcome addition to the growing body of research in this field. Loveday mentions in the preface that he has tried to make it accessible to the general reader, and on the whole, he succeeds, although occasionally he gets bogged down in jargon. The writing is rather uneven, though, with passages of smooth-flowing narrative interspersed with rather dense linguistic analysis. While Loveday does a fine job of organizing a tremendous amount of information, occasionally I got the feeling that much of it was second-hand and that he had not made it his own. For example, at one point he recounts the story of one Fukuzawa Yukichi, "a reformer, educator, and writer" who is humiliated when he visits a Western settlement because he does not know English and is therefore not able to communicate. Only 8 pages later, we have an anecdote about frequent codemixing on the part of one "Fukuzawa Yukichi, the found of Keio University." Yet Loveday never points out that these stories are about one and the same man at different points in his life. I was also surprised at a number of Loveday's translations of Japanese words and explanations of certain phenomenon. Another small quibble is that when Loveday gives the history of language contact in Japan, he concentrates too heavily on Chinese and the European languages, at the expense of other languages, including Korean, Ainu and the Ryukyuan languages.

All the same, this work goes a long way in explaining language contact in Japan, and in particular, the widespread use of English and other European languages in ways that many of us have noticed, but probably only shook our heads at.

Reviewed by Mary Goebel Noguchi, Ritsumeikan University

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

The *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* is currently published once annually. Subscriptions are available for one year at a time at the following rates.

Members of the JALT BN-SIG	¥1,200
JALT Members who are not BN-SIG Members	¥1,400
Individuals Overseas:	¥1,600 or $16 00
Institutions in Japan:	¥5,000
Institutions Overseas:	¥5,000 or $50 00

Payments within Japan should be made by Postal Money Transfer (*Yubin Furikae*) to:

Account No. (*Koza bango*) 口座番号: 01000-6-14369

Name (*Meisho*) 名称: バイリンガル・ジャーナル

Payments from overseas subscribers must be made by international postal money order made out to Bilingual Journal, Daihyosha Mary Noguchi, and sent to Mary Goebel Noguchi, 56-19 Yamashina Kusauchi, Tanabe-cho, Tsuzuki-gun, Kyoto Prefecture 610-03, Japan

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* welcomes well-written research reports in English or Japanese concerned with bi/multilingualism, bi/multiculturalism, intercultural communication and other related fields of study. Papers must not have been previously published or under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Style

The *Japan Journal of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism* uses the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.* Consult this issue or recent issues of the *JALT Journal* for examples of documentation and references.

Format

Feature articles should be no more than 5,000 words, typed and double-spaced on A4 paper. The author's name and references that identify the author should appear only on the cover sheet.

Materials to be Submitted

Three copies of the manuscript should be included with a cover letter at the time of submission. Once articles are accepted, authors will be asked to provide a short abstract of the article in Japanese and a Macintosh text format disk if possible.

Evaluation Procedures

Manuscripts complying with the above guidelines will be subject to blind review by at least two readers, with special attention given to BN-SIG aims, the significance and originality of submission, and the use of appropriate research design and methodology. The evaluation process is generally completed within three months.

Address

Address manuscripts and inquiries to: Mary Goebel Noguchi, 56-19 Yamashina Kusauchi, Tanabe-cho, Tsuzuki-gun, Kyoto Prefecture 610-03, Japan

日本語論文投稿要領

『多言語・多文化研究』は、バイリンガリズム、異文化コミュニケーションなどについての日本語論文の投稿を受け付けます。しかし、投稿する原稿は、すでに出版されているものや他の学術雑誌などに投稿中のものは避けてください。

文体は一般的な学術論文のスタイルを使ってください。章だてのしかたや参考文献の書き方などは、*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (3rd ed.)の定める方式にできるだけ近い形にしてください。ご不明の場合は、*JALT Journal* の英語論文を参考にしてください。

原稿は、A4の用紙にワープロで横書きに打ってください。長さは、1行40字、1ページ30行で10枚以内です。手書きの原稿は受け付けられません。

投稿に際しては、まず始めに、原稿3部を送ってください。原稿には執筆者の名前や連絡先を入れずに、別紙に書いて原稿とともに送ってください。審査過程を経てから、英文のタイトルと、500－750語の英文要旨、そして、できれば、マッキントッシュのテキスト形式で保存したディスクを提出していただきます。

審査の方法は、投稿要領にあっていることを確認の上、原則として二人の審査員が審査を行います。審査員には、執筆者の名前は知らされません。審査の過程では特に、バイリンガリズム研究部会の目的にかなっているか、意義また独創性があるか、研究計画と方法論が適切かどうかが検討されます。審査には通常3カ月を要します。

投稿原稿の送り先とお問い合わせは以下にお願いします。

〒610－03京都府綴喜郡田辺町草内山科56－19野口メアリー・ゲイブル

JAPAN JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM
多言語・多文化研究
1996年10月27日印刷
1995年11月2日発行

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1
2巻1号

編集人 野口メアリー・ゲイブル
発行所 全国語学教育学会バイリンガリズム研究部会
〒610－03京都府綴喜郡田辺町草内山科56－19
電話：(0774) 63－6002

印刷所 進晃堂印刷株式会社
〒612 京都市伏見区深草19軒543

JALT National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism --
Original Statement of Purpose

The modern Japanese situation holds unique challenges and opportunities for the study of bilingualism. Linguistically, Japanese, because of extensive historical borrowing, shares some surface features with Korean, Chinese and even modern European languages, but it appears to have no clearly traceable linguistic ties to any other major language. Sociologically, it can be argued that, as the most industrialized of the Asian nations, postwar Japan has had an extraordinarily high degree of economic and cultural exchange with the Western nations, but that its adopted Western artifacts are only thinly overlaid on zealously protected traditional culture. Psychologically, local bilingual and bicultural speakers of Japanese and another language live in an environment with unique pressures and potentials. In view of these rich areas for research and of Japan's rising political and economic importance, disappointingly few studies of bilingualism have emanated from Japan to date.

One of the purposes of the National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism is to address the need for high quality research in this uniquely exciting venue. As JALT members and their families comprise a significant portion of the bilinguals available for convenient study, this National Special Interest Group should help to identify an extremely valuable pool of researchers and bilingual subjects willing and able to help each other conduct significant studies, not only in the linguistic arena, but also on the many social and psychological ramifications of bilingualism in this particular society. As educators, JALT members are ultimately dedicated to developing fully-functioning bilinguals. As bilinguals themselves, as the parents or spouses of bilinguals, however, JALT members at the same time recognize that these individuals, minors in particular, are often in need of social and psychological support. A second purpose of the National Special Interest Group on Bilingualism, then, is to provide that support, in the form of disseminating research findings among this network of individuals sharing common pressures, and providing timely information on alternatives and responses to common problems affecting bilinguals in Japan, such as multicultural education, peer acceptance, and legal status.

Accordingly, this Special Interest Group proposes to (1) encourage bilingualism research projects and the wide dissemination of findings by organizing an extensive network of researchers and willing bilingual subjects, (2) promote awareness of current developments of interest to these overlapping communities, and (3) provide a base for mutual support among the group's members.

N-SIG Decision-Making Team

Chair
Peter Gray

Publications Director
Stephen M. Ryan

Treasurer/Membership Secretary
Renee Cohen

Colloquium Coordinator
Mary Goebel Noguchi